TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER

IN

GREECE,

DURING THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.

BY THE ABBE BARTHELEMY,

LATE KEEPER OF THE MEDALS IN THE CABINET OF THE KING OF FRANCE, AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

AND AN EIGHTH, IN QUARTO,

CONTAINING MAPS, PLANS, VIEWS, AND COINS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

GEOGRAPHY AND ANTIQUITIES OF ANCIENT GREECE.

THE FOURTH EDITION:

Carefully revised, corrected, and enlarged, by the last improved Paris Edition prepared for the Press by the Author; with Memoirs of the Life of J. J. Barthelemy, Written by Himself, and embellished with his Portrait.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE

BY

THE TRANSLATOR.

THE Work now offered to the English reader exhibits a complete view of the antiquities, manners, customs, religious ceremonies, laws, arts, and literature of ancient Greece, at the period of its greatest splendour. A knowledge of these has hitherto been only attainable by a laborious perusal of writers who have been little solicitous to join entertainment with instruction. The Travels of Anacharsis, on the contrary, are so written, that the reader may frequently be induced to imagine he is perusing a work of mere amusement, invention, and fancy; till his eye glances to the bottom of the page, when he perceives there is scarcely a sentence, and not a single fact or circumstance, but is supported by the authority of some ancient author. The great number of these

quotations may, perhaps, at first sight, seem to have been unnecessary, and to have more the appearance of a parade of erudition, than to be of any real utility: but it is to be remembered that, at the same time that they must be highly acceptable to the man of real learning, by enabling him to refer immediately to the original author, they are extremely useful, nay, I may say, absolutely necessary, even to such readers as can never be supposed to have any intention to consult the authorities quoted; as they clearly show that such an idea, or such a circumstance, is not merely a decoration, or the offspring of the fancy of the author, but immediately taken from some ancient writer, and therefore perfectly accordant to the general scope and plan of the work.

A summary of the history of Greece for the same period is likewise given, in which the same novelty of plan is consistently preserved. In the private letters which pass between Anacharsis and his friends, relative to the designs of Philip of Macedon, and the progress of that ambitious and subtle politician in his attempts, which ultimately proved but too successful, to overturn the liberty of Greece, and render himself its sovereign, the circumstances are

selected with great judgment and delicacy: they are precisely such as may be supposed to have been the popular topics of the day among the giddy multitude of Athens; and many of them will be found new even to such persons as are already tolerably acquainted with the history of that period. This is indeed a merit which pervades the whole work. The novelty of the plan might have been an apology for the introduction of common-place facts and trite anecdotes: but though it was impossible, consistent with the nature of the design, not to give many which must be familiar to those who are at all acquainted with the Grecian history and antiquities, yet it is certain there are still very many which will be found new by those whose knowledge of these subjects deserves not to be termed superficial.

As I have spoken of the *novelty* of the plan, it may not be improper to mention what has already been said on that subject, as it will afford an opportunity to introduce the account which the Abbé has himself given of the origin of his design, and which may be considered as a proper supplement to his advertisement that immediately follows this preface.

In one of the most respectable of the present

periodical publications, the author of an extremely judicious critique on the original of this work had hinted the "possibility that the "learned author of Anacharsis had taken the "hint of his plan from the supposed but ex-"cellent ATHENIAN LETTERS; a work very "little known, because never (properly speak-"ing) published. It consists of the imaginary "correspondence of a set of Greek gentlemen, "the contemporaries of Socrates, Pericles, and "Plato; but was in reality the actual corre-"spondence of a society of ingenious persons, "of the university of Cambridge; who, in "this assumed mode, communicated to each "other the result of their researches into "ancient history; and produced the best com-"mentary on Thucydides that ever was writ-"ten. At length, the number of their letters "became so considerable, that, to prevent the "trouble of transcribing them for the use of "the Society, it was resolved to print about a "dozen copies; which was accordingly done "by Bettenham, in four octavo volumes, "1741."*

The Abbé Barthelemy having seen this in France, wrote a letter in consequence to M.

* Monthly Review, Appendix to Vol. LXXXI.

Dutens, a respectable foreign gentleman residing in London, in which he assures him that "it "was not till after the publication of his work "that he heard of the *Athenian Letters*; and "that chance alone gave him the idea of it." He adds, "I travelled into Italy in 1755: "the appearance of this beautiful country "made me regret its ancient glory; and I was "continually transporting myself to that "period of the revival of letters and the arts, "when each city should grow proud with the "prosperity of the former, and ornament itself "with the productions of the latter; the "*Medici*, the *Ursini*, the *Farnesi*, the House of "*Est*, and other petty sovereigns, hitherto "divided by separate interests, should emulate "each other in drawing to their courts both "amusement and talents. These pleasing "visions so often presenting themselves to my "imagination, I thought it might be possible "to embody them, in supposed travels through "Italy, toward the reign of Leo X. I re-"flected for some time on this project; and "then perceived it would engage me in inqui-"ries too remote from those which had hither-"to occupied my attention. The history of "the Greeks just then suddenly offering to

"my view a more extended, and still more "dramatic scene, I eagerly embraced it; and "at my return from Italy, in 1757, began the "*Travels of Anacharsis*."*

I have yet to say a word or two of the translation. I have, in general, been rather solicitous to give the meaning of the original faithfully and accurately, than to be minutely nice in my language and style. At the same time, I have not been unmindful of endeavouring, at least, to make my author speak good English, and untainted, as much as may be, with foreign idiom; but I am far from having sufficient vanity to suppose that from the latter of these defects my version is entirely free. The difficulty of translation is best known to those who have most frequently attempted to render what has been written in one language into another; nor to those who have seldom been so employed can the difficulties by which this species of composition is surrounded, be distinctly known. Unfaithfulness to the author on the one hand, and corruption of idiom on the other, are the Charybdis and Scylla of

* See, on the same subject the *Memoirs of the Life of M. Barthelemy* &c. written by himself, prefixed to this edition, Memoir III. p. cxxxi.

translators. Different nations not only use different words and expressions to signify the same thing, but have different modes of thinking on the same subject. The ardour and vivacity of our sanguine neighbours frequently appear unnatural, and even ridiculous, to our more phlegmatic countrymen. Metaphors authorized by custom, the great arbiter in every question of this kind, may appear proper, and even elegant, in one language; when in another, to which they are a novelty, they would be esteemed harsh, forced, and inadmissible; and great is the perplexity frequently occasioned to the translator by such figures: if he admits the metaphor, he offends by risking an expression unusual, harsh, and in some sense chargeable with foreign idiom; if he entirely neglects it, he enfeebles the language; and if he substitutes another, more agreeable to the genius of his own tongue, it may be alleged that he has not kept sufficiently close to the expression of his author. The French language frequently indulges in such figurative expressions: the sentimental ardour of the nation continually produces a style which to an English reader will appear to border on inflation and bombast. There is certainly much

less of this style in the present work than in many others in that language; because the author, having formed his taste on the correct and chaste models of Antiquity, has given less into it: but still the genius of the language will occasionally display itself, and the translator find reason to exclaim—

Nobis non licet esse tam dissertis.

But, without pursuing this discussion farther, I shall proceed to what is of more importance to the reader who seeks for information—the care that has been taken to present him with a faithful and accurate version. The translator, though he has bestowed the utmost attention to perform properly this part of his task, does not mean arrogantly to affirm that he has committed no mistakes. If such should be discovered, let the wide field, which the work embraces, be taken into consideration; it includes almost every art, and the whole circle of ancient literature: to assert that no error has been committed in the expression or the proper technical terms relative to these, could only display the presumptuous conceit of ignorance.

As custom has bestowed on languages dif-

ferent metaphors, so also has it furnished some with terms more apposite than others perhaps possess. The French expression *place publique*, used to signify the place which was at once the market, and that in which the people met to converse, and assembled to deliberate on public affairs, appears to me preferable to the term *forum*, by which I have rendered it, and which has been adopted from the Romans, who employed it to express the same kind of place; but it seems scarcely applied with propriety when we are speaking of a Grecian city. The word *tribune*, likewise, which the French employ to signify the pulpit or gallery from which the orators addressed the people, is to be preferred to the word *rostrum*, which I have used to avoid circumlocution. This, like the former, is of Latin origin: the Romans indeed always used it in the plural (*rostra*;) and I should have written it so, had I spoken of that which stood in the Roman forum: but it is more familiar than the word *suggestum*, which indeed might have been more proper, and is to be found in our English dictionaries, where the latter is not.

The French measures in the work and in the tables, I have carefully reduced to English.

The leagues I have given as they stood, because the difference between them and a measure of three English miles, is too little to deserve notice. But it may not be improper to mention here, that the league of 2500 toises, used by M. Barthelemy in this work, is longer than three English statute miles by 48 yards, 2 feet, 3 inches. Where an odd number of toises has been added to the leagues, I have generally reduced them to the half, quarter, or some fraction of the league; but if more accuracy should be required, it may always be obtained by referring to the tables at the end of the work, for the value of the stadia, &c. in French and English measures. Some of the reductions into English yards, feet, &c. in the first volumes, differ a little from those given in the tables; because I then used the proportion given by Mr. Graham, in vol. xlii. of the Philosophical Transactions, according to which the French foot is to the English as 114 to 107, or equal to 12,785 inches English: but in reducing the tables, I have made use of a later and more correct proportion, given in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. lviii. page 325, by the present Astronomer Royal, Dr. Maskelyne; who, on occasion of the mensura-

tion of a degree of latitude in North America, applied to that excellent astronomer M. de la Landa, who sent him from Paris two toises exactly adjusted to the standard of those made use of by Messrs. de la Condamine and Bouguer in the measure of a degree of latitude in Peru; from the mean length of which it appeared that the French toise contain 767,344 English inches. The French weights I have computed from the proportion of the French and English grains, as given by M. Barthelemy himself.

In the quarto volume, the maps alone may be considered as a new and valuable work. The introductory observations by which they are accompanied, prove the labour and care that the compiler of them, M. Barbié du Bocage, has used to render them more accurate than any thing of the kind that has hitherto appeared. The translator has endeavoured to bestow equal care to give the names of places correctly, as they are found in ancient authors. There is scarcely a single town, the name of which has not been sought for and examined in Strabo, Pausanias, or Pliny.

I shall here conclude my address to the reader and the critic, and submit to the at-

tention of the one and the candour of the other, a work, which unless I am mistaken, is equal to any that France has for many years past produced, and the excellencies of which may perhaps make the defects of the translation pass unnoticed.

With respect to the additions and emendations made in this new edition the reader is referred to the Advertisement of the French editors of the last Paris edition, which follows this preface. It will be sufficient to say that the whole work has been carefully revised after that edition, which was prepared for the press by M. Barthelemy himself, though his death prevented it from being published under his inspection; and that all the insertions and corrections have been made in their proper places.

The Atlas has been entirely re-engraved after the new French plates of the corrected edition, and is very considerably superior in point of execution to that of the former editions either English or French. It is to be observed, however, that the new large map (of *Greece and the Grecian Colonies*) critical observations on which com-

pose so large a part of the quarto volume, has never been published in France, and consequently is not to be found in the Atlas of the present English edition. But the account given of it in the eighth volume contains so much valuable geographical information that it could not with any propriety be omitted. Besides, when it shall make its appearance, it will be engraved without delay to complete the maps illustrative of this work.

W. BEAUMONT.

Hoxton, September 17, 1806.

ADVERTISEMENT

OF THE

FRENCH EDITORS,

TO THE

LAST OR FOURTH FRENCH EDITION.

M. BARTHELEMY had prepared a fourth edition of this work which he proposed to publish himself, when literature, the sciences, and his friends were deprived of him by death, on the 30th of April, 1795, in the eightieth year of his age. This edition we now present to the public from a copy of that of 1790, in which he had written, with his own hand, a great number of CORRECTIONS and ADDITIONS.

The CORRECTIONS are too numerous to be pointed out here. They are of two kinds one of which relates merely to the style and expression, and the others to errors with respect to facts, names, and dates, which had escaped the attention of M. Barthelemy, and in the examination and rectification of which he had been employed to the end of his industrious life.

Among the ADDITIONS will be found an excellent memoir by the late M. Mariette, on the *Plan of a Grecian House*, in a note to the chapter on *the Houses and Entertainments of the Athenians*, which Barthelemy regretted he had not inserted in the preceding editions.—Several other insertions, more or less considerable, will be found in the course of the work, particularly in the chapters on the *Olympic Games*, on *Education*, on *Argolis*, on *Socrates*, on *Happiness*, &c. Three new Tables are also added to the twelve of the former editions, viz. a Table of the *Attic Months;* another of the *Tribunals and Magistrates of Athens;* and a third of the *Grecian Colonies*.

These new Tables have been drawn up at the desire and according to the ideas of M. Barthelemy, by one of his friends and colleagues of the Academy of Inscriptions. The Tables of Illustrious Men in the former editions were compiled by the same author who in this has corrected them, enlarged them by about one half, and made other improvements which are sufficiently pointed out in the advertisement by which they are preceded, in fine he has revised and corrected the first Table, that of the *Epochs*, with all the attention,

which a subject so difficult and important requires.

The Atlas to this edition will be found to be much more worthy of the work it is intended to illustrate. M. Barbié du Bocage, author of that of the preceding editions, has revised it with the greatest care, enlarged it with nine new plates, and spared no labour to improve it conformably to all the new information relative to Greece which he has been able to procure since the publication of the former. We are likewise indebted to him for a Table of *Comparative Geography*, in which he has annexed to the ancient names of the places mentioned in the work and in the maps, those by which they are known at the present time.

When we say that this Atlas, consisting of *forty plates*, one of which (the *General Map of Greece and the Grecian Colonies**) is on a whole sheet of large eagle paper, is engraved by M. M. *Tardieu*, jun. and Pillement, we sufficiently vouch for the superiority of its execution.

We have prefixed to this edition *Three Memoirs on the Life, and relative to some of the Works of John James Barthelemy, written by himself in* 1792 *and* 1793. The author did not intend

* This map, as has been observed, has never been published.

them for the press but we were of opinion that the public would read with pleasure and interest the narrative in which so celebrated a writer relates to his family and his friends the principal circumstances of his life, with that simplicity and candour which formed the basis of his character.

As it cannot but be highly agreeable to all who cultivate literature and the sciences to contemplate the features and characteristic countenance of so distinguished a writer as M. Barthelemy, we have embellished this edition with his portrait, designed from life, and engraved by M. Saint Aubin.

MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE,

AND

RELATIVE TO SOME OF THE WORKS

OF

J. J. BARTHELEMY.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF IN 1792 AND 1793.

MEMOIR I.

IN this inaction to which my misfortunes and the course of events have reduced me, retired to an abode*, where the image of the greatest virtues may well assuage the impression of the severest pains, I propose to give a narrative, summarily, and without ostentation, of the principal incidents of my life.

* In the apartment assigned him by Madame de Choiseul in her house.

Formerly the materials which I am about to collect, might have been useful to the Perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, when appointed to make the historical eulogium of each of the members of that body; they might have been useful to such historians as father Niceron, who, when compiling the history of literary persons, collect even their most trifling productions, and record their most indifferent actions: they may at any rate be consulted with utility, by those who in foreign countries employ themselves on the subjects which I have treated, because they may be found to contain some useful notices. I say, in foreign countries, for this kind of literature may be considered as absolutely lost in France.

Some celebrated authors, such as M. Huet, have left us an account of their actions and their writings: they had claims to perpetuate the remembrance of them, and to interest posterity. As for me, I have no other motive than to consume some of

those moments which now pass away with so much heaviness. I shall leave this production of my dotage to my nephews, regretting that I have nothing to leave them of more real value.

My family has long been settled at Aubagne, a handsome small town, situate between Marseilles and Toulon. Joseph Barthelemy, my father, who enjoyed an easy fortune, married Magdeleine Rastit, the daughter of a merchant of Cassis, a small neighbouring port, where trade was then very flourishing. During a visit which my mother made to her relations, she was brought to bed of me, on the 20th of January, 1716. I was soon after conveyed to Aubagne, where I passed my infancy.

At the age of four years, I lost my mother who was still very young. Those who knew her, have described her to me as a woman of talents and wit. I had not the happiness to profit by her example; but I had more than once the melancholy pleasure of weeping for her. My father,

who was inconsolable, took me every day, morning and evening by the hand, during the stay we made in the country, and led me to a solitary place. There he made me sit down by him, and dissolving into tears, bade me weep for the tenderest of mothers. This affecting scene, which for a long time was frequently repeated, made on my heart an impression so profound, that it has never been effaced.

My mother had left two sons and two daughters. Never was family more united, or more attached to its duties. My father had so completely obtained the esteem of his fellow citizens, that the day of his death was a day of mourning to the whole town. The death of my brother afterwards produced the same effect; and when I saw this succession of virtues pass to his children, I had not the vanity of birth, but I felt the pride of it; and I have often said to myself, that I would not have chosen another family, if that choice had been at my disposal.

At the age of twelve years, my father

placed me in the college of the Oratory at Marseilles, where I entered in the fourth class. I imbibed the rudiments of classical learning under father Raynaud, who has since distinguished himself at Paris in the pulpit. He had before distinguished himself by prizes both in prose and poetry, which he had gained in the academy of Marseilles, and in the French academy. He had much taste, and took a pleasure in exercising ours, especially in rhetoric. He would frequently retain us after the common instruction of the class, to the number of seven or eight: he read to us the best authors, made us observe their beauties, interested us by asking our opinions, and sometimes proposed to us subjects on which to make a trial of our abilities.

One day he asked of us a description of a tempest in French verse. Each brought his production, and the next day they were read in a little committee. He appeared very well pleased with mine. A month

afterwards he gave publicly a literary exercise in a great hall of the college. I was too timid to take a part, and seated myself in a corner of the hall, where soon afterwards the best company in Marseilles, both ladies and gentlemen, began to collect. On a sudden I saw every body rise, in consequence of the entrance of M. de la Visclede, Perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Marseilles, which had been established some years. He was a person greatly esteemed and respected; Father Raynaud, his friend, went before him, and placed him on the first seat. I was then fifteen years of age. Among this numerous company were some of the finest women in the city, elegantly dressed, but I saw only M. de la Visclede, and my heart palpitated when I saw him.

A moment afterwards he rose, as did Father Raynaud, who, after having cast his eyes on every side, discovered me in my corner, and made me a sign to approach. I held down my head, bent my

body, and endeavoured to conceal myself behind some of my comrades, who betrayed me. At length Father Raynaud having called me with a very loud voice, I seemed to hear my sentence of death. All eyes were immediately turned upon me. I was obliged to cross the hall through its whole length, over very narrow and close benches, stumbling at every step, to the right, to the left, forwards, and backwards, incommoding and trampling on robes, mantelets, head-dresses, &c. till after a long and disastrous journey, I at length reached M. de la Visclede, who taking me by the hand, presented me to the assembly, and spoke of the description of a tempest which I had given to Father Raynaud, with the most pompous eulogium of my supposed talents. I was the more disconcerted as I had taken this description almost entirely from the Iliad of de la Motte. At length M. de la Visclede was silent, and my condition may be judged of from my answer. With, a faultering voice, I pronounced—

"Sir—Sir—I have the honour to be—your most humble and most obedient servant Barthelemy." I retired overwhelmed with shame, and in despair at possessing so much genius.

M. de la Visclede with whom I had afterwards occasion to become acquainted, was eager to promote the progress of literature, and interested himself in the most lively manner in favour of all young persons who shewed a disposition towards it; but he was so good and so mild that he could only inspire them with presumption.

I was myself intended for the church, but as the Bishop of Marseilles, M. de Belzunce, refused to admit to holy orders, those who had studied at the Oratory, I entered on a course of lectures on philosophy, and another on divinity, at the college of the Jesuits. In the first of these courses the professor wishing to give us an idea of a cube, and having long perplexed himself to no purpose, at last took his three-cornered cap and said—"Here is a cube."

In the second the morning professor, for two hours every day, during three whole years, foamed and gesticulated like one possessed, to prove that the five propositions were in Jansenius.

I had fortunately framed for myself a plan of study which rendered me indifferent to the follies and frenzy of my new governors. Before I left the Oratory, I had requested one of my comrades to communicate to me the notes of the lectures on philosophy, there given. The system explained was that of Descartes, which was very much disliked by the Jesuits. I transcribed and studied these notes in private.

I applied myself at the same time to the ancient languages, especially the Greek, to facilitate my study of the Hebrew, of which I disposed the roots in technical verses still worse than those of the Greek roots of Port-Royal. I afterwards compared the Hebrew text with the Samaritan, as also with the Chaldee and Syriac versions. I employed myself likewise in reading the history of

the church, particularly that of the first ages.

This application drew the attention of the professor appointed to give us, every afternoon, lectures on the Bible, the Councils, and the Fathers. He was a man of merit, his approbation flattered me, and to justify it, I conceived the project of maintaining a thesis under his presidency which should embrace the principal questions relative to the books of the holy scripture, and the history and discipline of the church.—These were very numerous; each article presented matter for a multitude of discussions, and required a profound investigation. Ten vigorous Benedictines would not have dared to have undertaken this immense enterprize; but I was young, ignorant, and regardless of labour. My professor, no doubt, feared to discourage me by informing me that the plan was too vast. I precipitated myself into the chaos, and plunged into it so deeply that I fell dangerously ill. In the languid state in which I afterwards

for a long time found myself, I only wished the return of my strength that I might again abuse it.

As soon as I was recovered, I entered into the seminary at Marseilles, which was conducted by the Lazarists, where I again found a professor of divinity who was tolerably rational, and every morning at five, a meditation which was not always so. It was taken from a work composed by Beuvelet. The next day after my arrival we had read to us, slowly, and in detached phrases, the chapter in which Beuvelet compares the church to a ship of which the pope is the captain; the bishops are the lieutenants; after whom come priests, deacons, &c. It was required to reflect seriously during half an hour, on this parallel. Without waiting for the end of the chapter, the idea occurred to me that in this mysterious ship I could be only a cabin-boy. I told this conceit to the student next me, who communicated it to another next him, and on a sudden the silence was interrupted by a

general laugh, of which the superior wished to know the cause: when informed of it, he had the good sense to laugh likewise.

In this seminary I had a great deal of leisure. I studied the Arabic language; I collected all its roots contained in the immense dictionary of Golius, and formed them into detestable technical verses which I had much difficulty to remember, and which I soon after forgot. To join practice to theory, I made an acquaintance with a young Maronite, brought up at Rome, in the college *della Propaganda*, and settled at Marseilles with one of his uncles who traded to the Levant. He came to me every day, and we talked Arabic. One day he told me that I should render a real service to many Maronites, Armenians, and other Arabian catholics, who did not sufficiently understand French, if I would preach to them the word of God in their language. He had some Arabic sermons, composed by a Jesuit preacher of the Propaganda. Of these we chose the least ab-

surd, and I learned it by heart. My auditors, who were in number about forty, met in a hall of the seminary. They found somewhat of a foreign accent in my pronunciation; but were in other respects so well satisfied, that they requested with importunity a second sermon. I consented, and the next day some of them came to entreat me to hear them confess; but I told them I did not understand the language of Arabian sinners.

This was only a foolish exhibition; the following incident may serve as a lesson to guard us against the charlatanism of erudition. My master had drawn up for my use some Arabic dialogues, which contained questions and answers, compliments, and different phrases used in conversation, as for example—Good day, Sir; how do you do?—Very well, at your service—I have not seen you for a long time—I have been in the country, &c.

One day I was told that some persons were enquiring for me at the gate of the

seminary. I came down, and saw myself surrounded by ten or twelve of the principal merchants of Marseilles. They had brought with them a kind of mendicant, who had applied to them on the exchange. He had told them that he was a jew by birth; that he had been raised to the dignity of a rabbi; but that being convinced of the truths of the gospel, he had become a christian; that he was well versed in the oriental languages, and that, to convince them of it, he was willing to be examined by any learned man. These gentlemen politely added, that they had not hesitated to bring him to me. I was so terrified that I was seized with a cold sweat. I endeavoured to prove to them, that these languages are not learned with a view to speaking them; when on a sudden the man began the attack with an intrepidity which at first confounded me. Fortunately I perceived that he recited in Hebrew the first psalm of David, which I knew by heart. I let him repeat the first verse, and answered

by a phrase from one of my Arabic dialogues. We continued in this manner, he repeating the following verse of the psalm, and I the next phrase in my dialogue. The conversation at length became more animated. We spoke both together, and with the same rapidity. I waited for the end of the last verse, when he was silent, but to secure to myself the honour of the victory, I added one or two more phrases, and then told these gentlemen that this man, both on account of his learning and his misfortunes, well deserved their charity. He, on his part, told them in a barbarous kind of French, that he had travelled through Spain, Portugal, Germany, Italy and Turkey, and that he had no where met with so learned a man as this young abbé. I was then twenty one years of age.

This adventure was much talked of at Marseilles; I however endeavoured to prevent its effect, for I had faithfully related the whole truth to my friends; but no one would believe me; they all obstinately adhered to the marvellous.

I finished my studies at the seminary, and though intimately penetrated with sentiments of religion, perhaps, even, because I was so penetrated, I had not the least idea of entering into the ministry. My bishop might have derived some advantage from my ardent industry, by one of those small benefices of which it was in his power to dispose; but he knew that I had read St. Paul, and the Jansenist fathers of the primitive church, such as St. Augustin, and St. Prosper; he knew also that I rarely visited two jesuits, who were continually by his side, and who guided his opinions, and his determinations. One of these was father Fabre who could scarcely read, but who knew how to divert him with pleasant stories; and the other father Maire, who excited the activity of his zeal, against the Jansenist bishops, against the parliaments, and against all the enemies of the Jesuits, and by consequence of the church. He united in himself all the great offices; he was canon and chaplain to the bishop,

intendant and maitre d'hotel of his household, and principal grand vicar, and administrator general of the diocese. His antichamber, continually filled with curates and vicars, resembled that of a minister of state or a lieutenant of police. He was in his disposition, harsh, imperious, extremely insolent, and with a slight tincture of literature, believed himself the most able man in the world. I sometimes met him by chance. He one day suffered an expression to escape him which shewed me his true character: he said that the academies would ruin religion. This observation I never forgot.

Secure from father Maire, and every disastrous event; master of my time, and of my actions, having only desires which I could satisfy, my tranquil days glided on in enjoyments which left behind them no regret.

I passed a part of the year at Aubagne, in the bosom of a family which I adored, and in a small society of truly amiable persons.

We amused ourselves, either in the town or the country with reading and concerts. I went at intervals to Marseilles to visit some members of the academy with whom I had connections. Among these was the Abbé Fournier, canon of St. Victoire, as distinguished for his virtues as for his knowledge of the history of the middle age. He had furnished many instructive notes to the *Gallia Christiana,* and to the supplement which the Abbé Carpentier has published to the dictionary of Ducange. Such also was M. Cary, who had applied himself with success to the study of ancient monuments. He had a fine cabinet of medals, and a valuable collection of books suited to his taste. Among other works we are indebted to him for the History, from coins and medals, of the kings of Thrace and the Bosphorus. Knowledge of every kind, directed by an excellent understanding, and embellished by the mildest manners, rendered an intercourse with him equally agreeable and instructive. I loved

him much, and when the recollection of him reminds me of the many other losses which I have yet more sensibly felt, I see in life only a rugged path, every where over-grown with briars, which successively tear away our garments, and leave us at last, naked and covered with wounds.

Sometimes after having passed a whole day in conversing with my friend on literary subjects, I went to pass the night at the Minimes, where father Sigaloux, correspondent of the academy of sciences, made astronomical observations, in which he condescended to take me as an associate: for since I here make my general confession I ought to enumerate among the errors of my youth, the time I lost in mathematical studies, and astronomy in particular. I must accuse myself likewise of having made at the same time many detestable verses, though I was acquainted with the best models, and of having written several critical dissertations, though destitute of the necessary books. At length, I

know not in what year, the nuns of Aubagne proposed to me to preach to them the Sunday sermons in Lent. I consented, though I had neither sermons, nor text-book, nor even the *Preacher's Library.* I began a sermon every Monday and preached it on the Sunday ensuing. The following year I accepted the same engagement, and composed new sermons with as little precaution; but this second attempt so exhausted my powers that I could not compleat it.

After having long wandered from one subject to another, I began seriously to reflect on my situation. I had no profession or establishment; I had just attained my twenty-ninth year; my brother's family was increasing, and I might one day become a burden to him.

Every one advised me to go to Paris. But what could I do there? I who was as incapable of intrigue, as destitute of ambition, without any determined talent, or profound knowledge. I was like a

traveller who has brought many small pieces of money from the countries through which he has travelled, but not one piece of gold. I know not what motive decided against these powerful reasons. I set out, and went by Aix, where I visited M. de Bausset, canon of the cathedral, a native of Aubagne, where his family was settled. I was intimately acquainted with him. He told me that the first vacant bishoprick being intended for him, he had cast his eyes on me to partake of its labours and honours in quality of official, vicar-general, &c.; and that as soon as he should be appointed, he would come to Paris, and bring me back with him. He asked me if this arrangement suited me. I was transported with joy, and promised every thing; well persuaded that fortune would never offer me a more agreeable or more advantageous establishment. I had obtained a station in life, and I was indebted for it to a man, who to a most amiable character added all the virtues, especially an ex-

treme goodness of heart, the first of them all.

Delivered from an insupportable weight, I arrived at Paris in the month of June 1744. I had many letters of recommendation, and among them one to M. de Boze, keeper of the medals in the cabinet of the king, member of the French Academy, and late Perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. I waited on him, and, though naturally of a cold disposition, he received me with much politeness, and invited me to his dinners on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. That on Tuesday was set apart for his fellow-members of the Academy of Belles Lettres; and that on Wednesday for M. de Reaumur, and their friends. Here, besides M. de Reaumur, I met with the Count de Caylus, the abbé Sallier, keeper of the king's library; the abbé's Gedoyn, de la Bleterie, du Resnel; M. M. de Foncemagne, Duclos, Louis Racine, the son of the great Racine, &c. I cannot express the emotion I felt the first

time I found myself in their company. I watched every word and gesture; nothing escaped me. I was astonished to find that I could understand all they said, and they must have been much more so at my embarrassment whenever they addressed their discourse to me.

This profound respect for men of literature, impressed me so powerfully during my earlier years, that I even preserved in my memory the names of those who sent enigmas to the Mercure. Hence resulted a considerable inconvenience: I admired, but did not exercise my judgment. For a long time I read no books without internally confessing to myself that I was incapable of writing such. In my latter years I have been more bold, with respect to works relative to criticism and antiquity; for, by continued labour, I had acquired the right to have a confidence in myself.

When I had become a little familiarized with some members of the academies,

I extended my connections. I went to see the curiosities of Paris, I frequented the public libraries; and I recollected the abbé de Bausset. I examined the gazette to find the announcement of some vacant see; but when such appeared, I soon found that it was not conferred on him but on some other person.

At the end of about a year, M. de Boze, whom I frequently visited, and who, without any apparent design, had more than once questioned me relative to my plans, spoke to me of his, with that indifference which he affected even for what he desired most. The cabinet of medals required a labour which his age would no longer permit him to undergo. He had at first intended to take his associate the baron de la Batie, a very learned antiquary of the Academy of Belles Lettres; but having lost him, he hesitated with respect to the choice of another; for, said he, this deposit must only be entrusted to pure hands, and requires equal probity and knowledge.

He hinted to me the possibility of my becoming his associate; and I testified the satisfaction I should feel in being employed under him. As I was acquainted with his extreme discretion, as also with his connections with M. Bignon the librarian, and M. de Maurepas, the minister of the department, I thought this affair would be concluded in a week, but it was not till several months afterwards. I was much affected with the confidence he had reposed in me, and I endeavoured to prove that I merited it, during the seven years which I lived with him in the closest intimacy; and after his death I furnished M. de Bougainville, who pronounced his eulogium, in quality of Perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Belles Lettres, with the traits most proper to do honour to his character.

Those which I shall add here, will not be derogatory to it, and are naturally introduced by the connection I had with him. Order and neatness were conspicuous in

his person, his furniture, and in an excellent cabinet of books, almost all bound in morocco, and exactly filling the shelves. Elegant port folios, inclosed in rich cases, contained his papers, arranged in classes, copied by a secretary who wrote a very fine hand, and who was not allowed to pardon himself the smallest fault. There was in his air and words, a dignity and seriousness that seemed to give weight to his most trifling actions; and he annexed to his labours an importance that never permitted him to neglect the slightest precautions that could insure success.

Of this I will give an example. When he had quitted the secretaryship of the academy, he continued to compose medals, inscriptions and devices, when requested by the ministers, or by towns and corporate bodies. He possessed for this kind of composition, a distinguished talent, and a patience still more remarkable. If a medal were required, after having long reflected on his subject, and obtained an

idea, he communicated it to his secretary who brought him a sketch of the figure. He re-touched it, and at every alteration a new copy must be made by the secretary. His plan once settled, he sent for Bouchardon the designer to the academy. After a long discussion relative to the disposition, and all the accessories of the type, the artist began a first sketch, which sometimes rendered a second necessary. At length the design was finished, and sent to those who had applied for it, with a memoir which explained the spirit of the device, and this memoir was accompanied by a letter, in which the most piercing eye could not discover the least irregularity in the formation of the letters, the punctuation, or even the folding of the envelope. The plan of the medal having been approved by the king, was sent to the engraver, and M. de Boze still superintended its execution.

I here recollect the painful impatience which so many minute details frequently

caused me; but I experienced a much greater, when, after his death, the composition of medals, having reverted to the academy, which had always been extremely jealous of it, I saw the committee appointed to present to it the plan of a medal or an inscription, meet slowly and reluctantly, content themselves with a first idea, and hasten to break up;—when, after the plan of the committee had been presented to the academy, I saw whole sittings lost in discussions, and disputing without concluding any thing;—and when I saw artists so little superintended that on a medal which represents the statue of Louis XV, the engraver, perceiving that the letters of the inscription on the base would be too small to be read without the assistance of a glass, engraved on it the first letters that occurred to him in such a manner that it is impossible to find any meaning in them.

I rose at five and prosecuted my literary labours. I went to M. de Boze at nine,

and worked till two; and when I did not dine there, I returned and resumed my employment till seven or eight o'clock. What cost me most was to subject myself to his laborious exactness. When I came from his cabinet at two, to return at four, I have left on the bureau several volumes open, because I knew that I should have occasion to consult them again; but I perceived, the very first day, that M. de Boze had himself replaced them on the shelves. When I presented to him a sketch of what I had done, it was in vain I informed him that I had traced it in haste. How could I escape the severity of a censor who put points to his *i*'s; I, who frequently did not put *i*'s under the points? He was offended at a word misplaced; and lost his patience at a too bold expression; but all this with sufficient mildness; sometimes with a little pettishness on his part, but always with an extreme docility on mine; for I felt, and still feel that his criticisms were necessary to me.

His habitual infirmities did not permit him to finish the arrangement of the medals of the king's cabinet, which had been removed a short time before from Versailles to Paris. I found the ancient medals in their cases; the modern, as well as the coins and counters, were still in chests; I took them out, and, after having ascertained their authenticity, inserted them in the catalogues. I took from their chests the medals of the Marshal d'Etrées, acquired for the king some years before, and which consisted of three series: the one of medallions of the emperors in bronze; the second of Grecian kings; and the third of Greek cities. It was requisite to place them among those of the king, and consequently to compare and accurately describe them, and insert them in a supplement with references to the old catalogue. These operations, which lasted several years, were carried on under the inspection of M. de Boze, who by the experience he manifested, at once instructed me and excited my admiration.

I must observe here, that among the medals of marshal d'Etrées, there were some that were doubtful, and some manifestly spurious; but as they had been published, M. de Boze was of opinion, that they ought to be preserved, and even inserted in the catalogue, because the keeper ought to be able to shew them to those who might wish to verify them. From the same motive, some uncertain medals have been left in the other series. If ever the cabinet should be published, care should be taken to purify it from this bad company.

At the same time M. de Boze made the acquisition of the beautiful series of imperial medals in large brass, which from the cabinet of the Abbé Rothelin had passed into that of M. de Beauvau: this produced a new labour.

At length I made a first arrangement for the cabinet of antiques which was in an upper room above that of the medals. This consisted of an enormous quantity of small figures, lamps, vases, fibulæ, and ancient

utensils, which were all heaped up in the middle of the floor, and I decorated with them the shelves and the walls.

I had scarcely begun this course of operations, when I saw myself on the point of quitting them. I have already said that, before I left Provence, I had entered into engagements with the Abbé de Bausset. He had been forgotten in several nominations, but about the end of the year 1745, the bishopric of Beziers was conferred upon him. He informed me of this by a letter, and reminded me of my promise. He still more strongly pressed it on my recollection on his arrival at Paris. I thought that in these circumstances the only means to free myself from my engagement would be to make him the arbiter of my future destiny. He, in fact, was convinced that actuated as I was by an imperious passion for literature, it would be impossible for me to apply myself to studies of another kind with any success, or without an extreme repugnance, and not wishing to require of

me so painful a sacrifice, he restored me to my liberty, and still continued to me his friendship.

Freed from this engagement, I almost immediately afterward contracted, with transport, another which united me irrevocably with the object of my passion. M. Burette of the Academy of Belles Lettres, died in the month of May, 1747, and I was appointed to the place which he had left vacant. I should have had a very formidable competitor in the person of M. le Beau, but he would not offer himself on this occasion; and another place having become vacant, a short time afterwards, he was elected to it unanimously. I was deeply impressed by his generous conduct, M. de Bougainville, my intimate friend, Perpetual Secretary to the Academy, wishing to resign that place, on account of his infirmities, proposed to the Minister that I should be his successor. The Minister readily consented to bestow it on me, but I refused it, and engaged both him and M. de Bou-

gainville to confer it on M. le Beau; who some years afterwards found the means to retaliate: I am about to quit the secretary-ship, said he to me; I am indebted to you for it, and to you I restore it.—I yield it to another, answered I; but I will yield to no person the pleasure of confessing that it is impossible to overcome you in generous actions.

I continued my occupations with M. de Boze, till, in 1753, he was attacked by a paralytic disorder, which a few months afterwards, terminated his life. The public opinion had for a long time pointed me out as his successor; and no person imagined that I could have a competitor for a place which I had in some sort acquired by ten years labour and assiduity; yet the day after his death, one of my brethren of the Academy, of whom I have never wished to know the name, had the courage to solicit it. He addressed himself to the Marquis d'Argenson, the brother of the Minister, who in the first emotion of his indignation

gave notice to me, and at the same time, informed his brother of the application. As other patronage was sought, my friends were alarmed. M. de Malesherbes, who then had the direction of the library, was the first who opposed with all the zeal of friendship, to the injustice it was intended to do me. He was powerfully seconded, at the request of M. de Bombarde and the Count de Caylus, two common friends, by the marquis (afterwards duke de Gontaut), and the count de Stainville (afterwards duke de Choiseul), with whom I was not then acquainted. The measures they took succeeded so well that when the count d'Argenson, being employed with the king, announced to him the death of M. de Boze, his majesty, without waiting for any recommendation, of himself, named me for his successor. M. d'Argenson replied that I was precisely the person whom he had intended to propose to his majesty. The minister informed me of this the next day, and appeared somewhat offended that

we could have doubted his intentions: he, however, always treated me with the utmost kindness.

The year afterward M. de Stainville was appointed ambassador at Rome. I recollect this date with extreme pleasure, because it was the epoch of my fortune, and, which is of much more consequence, of my happiness. I had found no opportunity to thank him for the kindness with which he had interested himself in my favour, without knowing me: it now naturally presented itself. He had chosen for secretary to the embassy M. Boyer, my friend, who introduced me to him. The reception I met with inspired me immediately with confidence and attachment. He asked me whether a journey into Italy would not be favourable to the labours in which I was engaged, and, on receiving my answer, applied immediately to the marquis d'Argenson; and two days after my friend Boyer came, by his desire, to inform me that it was decided I should go. I lost no time in repairing to the house of

the ambassador to express my thanks; and my astonishment was extreme when he told me that he would take me in his suite, that I should reside with him at Rome, have a carriage always at my command, and that he would enable me to make the tour of the rest of Italy. Philosophy had not yet taught me to view the dignity of man in its true light; and I became confused and embarrassed in endeavouring sufficiently to express my gratitude; as if a patron did not become patronized by him who deigns to accept his favours.

Some business, however, relative to the cabinet of medals obliged me to defer my departure, and prevented my accompanying the ambassador. But for this disappointment I was compensated by friendship. The president de Cotte, director of the department of the mint, with whom I was on terms of the closest intimacy, resolved to avail himself of this opportunity to satisfy a desire which he had long entertained to visit Italy. I was delighted at

this determination. Besides the information and various other advantages which I must derive from so pleasing a companion, I should never, perhaps, have been able, without his assistance, to overcome all the difficulties of so long a journey. I hastened to communicate the intelligence to the ambassador, and was desired by him to invite M. de Cotte to take up his residence in his house. We left Paris in the month of August 1755, and arrived at Rome on the first of November.

M. de Stainville had there already acquired that reputation which he afterwards obtained throughout Europe: this he did not derive from the magnificence he displayed in his establishment, and which announced the minister of the first power in Europe; he owed it solely to the superiority of his talents, to that nobility of mind which shone in all his actions, to that magic which subjected all hearts he wished to attach to himself, and to that firmness which held in respect those whom

he disdained to subjugate. He had gained the esteem of Benedict XIV. by the irresistible charms of his understanding and his wit; and that of the most intelligent members of the sacred college by his frankness in negociation. By obtaining the encyclic letter, which gave so violent a shock to the constitution *Unigenitus*, he had drawn on himself the hatred of the Jesuits, who never pardoned him for having deprived them of this branch of persecution.

Madame de Stainville, then scarcely eighteen years of age, enjoyed that profound respect which is seldom bestowed but on a long exercise of exemplary virtue. Every thing about her inspired the most lively interest; her age, her figure, the delicacy of her health, the vivacity which animated her words and actions, the desire of pleasing which it was so easy for her to gratify, and which she most successfully exerted towards a husband the truly worthy object of her tenderness and attention;

that extreme sensibility which rendered her happy or unhappy from the happiness or misfortunes of others; in fine, that purity of heart, which would not permit her even to suspect evil. It was at the same time extraordinary to see so much intelligence combined with such simplicity. She reflected at an age when others scarcely begin to possess the faculty of thinking. She had read with equal pleasure and advantage those French authors which are most distinguished for their profundity and elegance. My love for literature procured me her favour, and also that of her husband, and from that moment I devoted myself to them, without any consideration of the advantages to be derived from that attachment.

Some days after our arrival, the ambassador presented us to Benedict XIV. to whom he had previously spoken in our favour, and who received us with great kindness. We afterwards set out for Naples, and during a month were occupied in

visiting and observing the singularities of that city and its environs. We went to see the most ancient monuments of Grecian architecture which are still remaining about thirty leagues beyond Naples, in a place where formerly stood the city of Pæstum. The halls of the palace of Portici, in which are collected the antiquities found in the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii, likewise frequently drew us to visit them. We saw with the utmost satisfaction that immense assemblage of paintings, statues, busts, vases, and utensils of different kinds; objects, for the most part, distinguished by their beauty, or the uses for which they were employed. But we witnessed with still greater regret the shameful neglect of the four or five hundred manuscripts discovered in the subterranean excavations of Herculaneum. Two or three only had been unrolled and explained by the learned Mazochi; but they unfortunately contained nothing of importance, and this occasioned discourage-

ment. Every person assured me that the operation would be resumed; but this hope has not been realized. I have since frequently spoken on the subject to the marquis de Caraccioli, ambassador from Naples in France, and written to him on it after he was promoted to the ministry. He answered me that he was resolved to prosecute this design, and that he proposed, in order to hasten the execution of it, to divide, if possible, the labour among different literary bodies, and to send successively some of these manuscripts to our academy of Belles Lettres, others to the Royal Society at London, others to the university of Gottingen, &c. A month or two afterwards his death was announced in the public papers.

I had wished to present, at my return, to the learned who apply themselves to palæography, a specimen of the most ancient writing employed in the Greek manuscripts. With this view I made application to M. Mazochi, who told me

there was an express prohibition by the king against any communication. M. Paderno, the keeper of the collection at Portici, on my applying to him, made me the same answer: he only shewed me a page of a manuscript, which had been cut through from top to bottom, when it was discovered. It contained eighteen lines. I read them five or six times; and under pretext of a pressing necessity, went down into the court-yard, and traced them on a piece of paper, preserving in the best manner I could, the disposition and form of the letters. I then went up again, compared, mentally, the copy with the original, and found means to rectify two or three little errors that had escaped me. In this fragment, mention was made of the persecutions which all the philosophers had experienced, with the exception of Epicurus. I sent it immediately to the academy of Belles Lettres, requesting that it might not be published, to avoid embarrassing Mazochi and Paderno.

In the mean time the marquis d'Ossun, the French ambassador at Naples, gave me notice that the king, informed of my mission, had expressed a desire to see me. That prince was then at his superb palace of Caserta, which he was finishing. I was presented to him when he was at dinner. He spoke to me with pleasure of the discoveries that had been made in his dominions; appeared to regret that the keeper of his medals was absent, because I could not see them; ordered that I should be shewn the superb marble columns lately brought to Caserta; and caused my name to be entered in the list of those persons to whom the volumes of the Antiquities of Herculaneum were to be successively sent as they made their appearance. The care of explaining these antiquities was confided to Monsignor Baiardi, a Roman prelate, whom the king had prevailed on to take up his residence in his states. He was a vast and indefatigable compiler, respectable for the qualities of his heart, and formida-

ble from his memory to those who engaged with him in conversation, or undertook to read his works. Baiardi had cultivated every species of literature, and collected in his head an enormous but indigested mass of knowledge, which escaped from him in a very confused manner. He began with a general catalogue of the remains of antiquity preserved at Portici, in one volume, folio; and as the engravings which were to represent them were not yet ready, he obtained permission from the king to place at the head of the grand commentary, a preface intended to point out the commencement, continuance, and utility of the researches at Herculaneum. He published this first part of his work in seven volumes quarto, without having entered on his subject.

I shall give some account of his manner, for the information of those who may be tempted to imitate him. The explainer of these monuments of antiquity ought to make known their proportions, but what

measures should he employ? Here a long discussion of the measures of the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans. The monuments were, the greater part of them, taken out of the ruins of Herculaneum. This name, the same with that of Heraclea, was given to many cities; it was therefore necessary to speak of all these cities: hence an excursion into the wide field of ancient geography. Herculaneum was founded by Hercules. But there were several heroes of that name, as the Tyrian, the Egyptian, the Grecian, &c. it was therefore necessary to follow them in their expeditions in order to determine to which of them our Herculaneum owes its origin: hence an excursion into the regions of mythology.

It is evident that researches like these would easily have led the author to the end of even a dozen volumes. Unfortunately he was desired to stop in the midst of so brilliant a career, and soon after he returned to Rome, where I went to see him.

I asked him if he had finished his preface. He answered that he had suspended it for a time, and that, to recreate himself, he was then employed on an abridgement of universal history, which he would comprise in twelve volumes duodecimo, and in which he should begin by the solution of a problem of the utmost importance to astronomy and history, which was to ascertain the point of the heavens in which God placed the sun at the creation of the world. He had just discovered this point, and he shewed it to me on a celestial globe.

I have perhaps already said too much of Monsignor Baiardi; but as I write only for myself, or at most for a few friends, I will give a further sketch of his character, and describe to myself the first visit which I made to him at Naples. I found him in a large hall: a violent cold kept him on a sopha, the appearance of which attested long services. He was habited in such antique garments, that they might have been taken for the dress of some ancient inhabitant of

Herculaneum. He was at this time employed with his secretary. I entreated him to proceed, and sat down at the foot of the sopha. Some monks of Calabria had been consulting him on a heresy which had begun to spread in their neighbourhood. They had just learned that one Copernicus maintained that the earth turned round the sun. What then must become of that passage of scripture which declares the earth immoveable; or of that which tells us that Joshua made the sun stand still? What too is to become of the evidence of our senses? Besides, how could it be possible that we should not fall, if our heads were all night long downwards. The prelate answered diffusely and learnedly to all these questions, rescued the honour of the sacred books, pointed out the laws of gravity, shewed the uncertainty and error of the testimony of our senses, and concluded by advising the monks not to disturb the ashes of Copernicus which had been so long cold, and to sleep with the same tranquillity which they had hitherto enjoyed.

When he had finished his answer, he reiterated his apologies to me, and I informed him, that, being sent into Italy by the king of France, in search of such medals as were wanting in the royal cabinet of which I had the care, I had added to this duty another—that of becoming acquainted with men the most distinguished for their learning. He now took off his cap, redoubled his civilities, coughed a long time, and asked permission to present to me Signora Maria Laura, his very old friend, whose virtues equalled her knowledge and talents; who understood Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, who designed and painted like Apelles, played on the lyre like Orpheus, and worked embroidery as well as the daughters of Minyas. This eulogium was not concluded when Signora Laura Maria made her appearance. She might be from sixty to sixty-five years of age: he was from sixty-five to seventy.

In the course of the conversation he assured me that he was descended from the

chevalier Bayard, and that he was a Frenchman not only by birth, but from inclination. He afterwards complained of the manner in which the researches at Herculaneum were conducted, of the negligence of the ministry with regard to the manuscripts, and of the jealousy excited against him by the distinguished treatment he had experienced from the king. I happened, I know not why, to mention count Caylus, when he immediately exclaimed, "What! Do you know count Caylus? He is my very good friend—Do you know signora Laura, this count Caylus is one of the greatest noblemen in France, one of the most learned men in the world. He presides over all the academies in Paris, is the patron of all the arts, understands every thing, writes upon every thing, and his works are the admiration of all Europe." Then, abruptly addressing himself to me, he said in ill pronounced French, "What has this Caylus written, I have never seen any thing of his?" and without waiting for

an answer, he rang the bell, and ordered the servant to bring in a large box full of papers; which I found were his Latin poems. He proposed to me to hear him read one or two of them. " I should be delighted," replied I, " but, monsignor, you cough very much." He answered that he would sacrifice every thing to the pleasure of affording me some amusement; and with that view he chose a piece entitled *An Anatomical Description of the Brain.* Exclusive of my ignorance of the subject, the Italians pronounce Latin in a manner so very different from the French, that the beauties of his verse were entirely lost upon me. Madame Laura, who perceived it, interrupted him about the hundredth verse, observing that so fine a subject, to be properly felt, ought to be studied profoundly, and proposed that he should read instead of it, his *Fountain of Trevi.* " Signora Laura is in the right," said he, " you come from Rome, and you must have admired more than once that beautiful fountain. I

was there when it was discovered; the *æstro poetico* seized me, and I have copiously diffused it in the following piece. It was in vain that I said, "Monsignor, you cough very much," I was obliged to listen. The plan of this little poem was as follows.

The poet runs to the new fountain: he perceives at a distance a beautiful Neptune, who strikes with his trident the rocks heaped up under his feet, and causes impetuous torrents to gush forth. He approaches the basin, where these collected waters present to him a delightful spectacle in the Naiades playing on their bosom; he himself joins in their sports, while an unknown power, on a sudden investing him with a celestial form, lavishes on him the charms which shone in his new companions. It may easily be conceived that a genius capable of painting the imperceptible fibres of the brain could apply the richest colours to more real beauties; accordingly nothing was wanting in a description most scrupulously accurate of the happy change

he had experienced: he dwelt with complacence on the celerity of his motions, the accuracy of proportions, the rotundity of form, and the softness of feature.

Whilst he presented to me this picture, degraded by the rapidity with which he read, and a pronunciation foreign to my ears, I compared the state of this late nymph of the waters to his present appearance; his turned up chin, covered with a thick beard; his flaccid cheeks, filled with yellow spots; his eyes sunk deep in their sockets; the wrinkles crossing each other in every direction on his forehead; and the whole made such an impression upon me that when he ceased reading, after some compliments, I said to him, "I cannot however dissemble that you have greatly altered since your metamorphosis." Madame Laura agreed with me: he laughed himself, and thinking from this wretched pleasantry that I was not a little amused, said, "Stop a moment; you have seen me as a Nereid, I will now present

myself to you as a Bacchante," and immediately drew from his inexhaustible box a dithyrambic of enormous length; and, collecting all his strength began to declaim the sacred song; but the ardour with which he exerted himself, occasioned at the very first verse so violent a fit of coughing, that Madame Laura alarmed at it, joined her entreaties to mine that he would defer the further reading of it till another day. He consented, though with regret, and I made my escape, as soon as I could, firmly resolved never again to expose his breath to a similar fatigue.

It is a pleasure to me to add here the names of several persons of learning or taste, with whom I had an opportunity of making an acquaintance in Italy. I frequently visited at Naples the canon Mazochi, the count de Gazole, the duke de Noia, and the count de Pianura. It was impossible to unite more piety, modesty, and knowledge than was possessed by the former. He was then employed on some

inscriptions found at Herculaneum. This work, which manifests at once profound erudition, and invincible perseverance, would leave nothing to be desired, were it not crowded with too great a number of notes, which though instructive, are uninteresting, because they are unnecessary. M. de Gazole gave the most obliging reception to those intelligent foreigners whom the new discoveries brought to Naples. M. de Noia had made an immense collection of the medals of Magna Græcia alone. M. de Pianura did not confine himself to this single series, his cabinet contained those of every class. He had the goodness to permit me to take several of them, and I pressed him to add to them that of Cornelia Supera, which he had lately explained*, and by which he shewed that this princess was the wife of the emperor Æmilianus; but he dared not part with it without the

* Lettera al Reverendissimo Padre D. Gian. Francisco Baldini, Generale della Congregazione de Clerici Regolari di Somasco. Napoli 1751.

consent of the king. I requested M. d' Ossun to speak to the minister Tanucci on the subject, who answered with a despotic importance; "If there be a duplicate of the medal in question in the cabinet of M. de Pianura, he may dispose of one of them, but if it be unique, the king will not suffer it to go out of his dominions."

At Rome, I had connections more or less intimate with Father Paciaudi, the Theatin; Father Corsini, the General of the Schools of Piety; Fathers Jacquier, and le Sueur, Minimes; Father Boscovich, the Jesuit; M. M. Botari, and Assemanni, prefects of the Vatican Library; the Marquis Lucatelli, keeper of that library; the Abbé Venuti; the chevalier Vettori; the cardinals Passionei, Albani, and Spinelli, to the latter of whom I dedicated my explanation of the mosaic work of Palestrina.

At Florence I became acquainted with M. M. Stosch and Gori; at Pesaro, with M. Passeri, and M. Annibal Olivieri, to

whom, after my return to France, I addressed a letter on some Phœnician antiquities.

About the end of January 1757, M. de Stainville returned to Paris, from his embassy at Naples, and a short time after was appointed ambassador to Vienna. He wrote to me requesting me to return with his lady, and on our arrival informed me of the engagement he had made for me with my new minister M. de Saint Florentine. I was to go with him to Vienna, and afterwards, at the expence of the king, make the tour of Greece and the isles of the Archipelago, and return by Marseilles. However agreeable this proposal might be to me, I was obliged to decline it; because, after so long an absence, I could no longer leave the cabinet of medals shut.

My life has been so intimately connected with that of M. and Madame de Choiseul; they have had such an influence on all its events, that it is impossible to speak of myself without speaking of them. It must not therefore excite surprise that their

names are incessantly met with in these memoirs.

About the end of 1758, M. de Stainville, from that time duke de Choiseul, was recalled from Vienna, and appointed minister for foreign affairs. The first moment that I saw him, he said to me, that it was for him and his lady to take care of my fortune, and for me to inform them of my views. I did not expect so much kindness, and being pressed to explain myself, I answered that a pension of six thousand livres on a benefice, added to the emolument I derived from my place, as keeper of the medals, would be sufficient for me to maintain two nephews I had at college, and a third whom I intended to place there very soon. I immediately blushed at my indiscretion: he smiled at it, and gave me every encouragement.

I here protest that this was the only favour I ever asked of M. or Madame de Choiseul; I own at the same time that I had no need of solicitation with them; and

if any one would wish to know to what I was indebted for this good fortune, so considerable for a man of letters, I answer, to the eager desire by which they were impelled to contribute to the happiness of others; to that profound sensibility which never permitted them to forget attentions which had been shewn them, and to that great and generous character which persuaded them that, when we act from sentiment, not to have done all that is in our power is to have done nothing. But as such noble dispositions are almost always dangerous in those who are in possession of power, I must add, what may be proved by innumerable examples, that M. and Madame de Choiseul would never have consented to commit the smallest injustice, even to serve their friends. I have never been able to acquit myself of all that I owe to them: the only resource which now remains to me is to perpetuate in my family the remembrance of their benefactions.

In 1759, M. de Choiseul having obtained the archbishopric of Alby for the bishop of Evreux, his brother, procured a pension of four thousand livres to be granted to me on this benefice.

There appeared in 1760, a severely satirical parody of a scene in Cinna, aimed at the duke d'Aumont, and M. d'Argental. The relations and friends of the former raised the whole court against M. Marmontel, who was suspected of being the author of this satire, because he had the indiscretion to read it to a supper-party. Every endeavour was in consequence made to take from him the privilege of the Mercure, the subscriptions to which he had very remarkably increased. The more certainly to injure him, it was represented to Madame de Choiseul, that the Mercure produced, all expences paid, twenty thousand livres yearly; that it required only a slight superintendance on the part of the author, the labour being done by clerks; and that by procuring this journal for me, she would no

longer have occasion to solicit in my favour the bishop of Orleans, who had now resolved to reserve exclusively for the nobility, the abbeys, and benefices of any considerable value. Madame de Choiseul communicated this project to Madame de Gramont, as also to M. de Gontaut; and all the three spoke of it to Madame de Pompadour, positively declaring, however, that they did not mean to influence the decision respecting M. Marmontel. The duke de Choiseul would take no part in this affair.

I knew M. Marmontel only by having seen him two or three times at the house of Madame du Boccage; but I felt an extreme rupugnance to profit by the spoils of a man of merit. I explained myself on the subject more than once to Madame de Choiseul, both in conversation and by letter; but persuaded as she was, by all who saw her, that M. Marmontel was culpable, and that he could not keep the Mercure, she could not conceive the

motives of my resistance. I requested M. de Gontaut to explain them to Madame de Pompadour, who approved them the more as she did not wish to ruin M. Marmontel.

I then found myself in a very difficult situation. I was much affected by the lively interest which Madame de Choiseul publicly testified in my favour; and I risked, by an obstinate refusal, appearing to condemn her conduct, and causing it to be considered as a despotism of beneficence. On the other hand, if the court was against M. Marmontel, Paris was for him, and all men of literature making it a common cause, swore eternal hatred against him who should dare to take his place.

The animosity of the two parties appeared for some days to have subsided, and I believed myself out of danger; when on a sudden M. d'Aumont produced a letter that M. Marmontel had just written to him, advising him to let the affair drop. This letter had a very bad effect, and revived

the violence of M. d'Aumont, and his partisans. It was then determined that the privilege of the Mercure should be given to me, and in case of my refusal, that it should be granted to M. de la Place. I now committed an essential error; I thought that if it fell into the hands of the latter, it would never be restored; but that if I accepted it, I might be permitted, when the prejudices raised against M. Marmontel should be dispelled, to return it to him. I wrote to Madame de Choiseul, and explained to her the reasons which had at length determined me to accept the journal. The privilege was sent to me, and my eyes were then opened, as I immediately foresaw the train of complaints, intrigues and dangers to which I had exposed myself: I shuddered at the error of my good intentions. Fortunately I received with the privilege a letter from M. de Choiseul which somewhat calmed my uneasiness. He came the same evening to Paris: I saw him; and he advised me to go immediately to

M. d'Aumont, present to him the privilege of the Mercure, and earnestly request him to restore it to M. Marmontel, representing to him that he could not avenge himself in a manner more noble, or more worthy of himself. I accordingly flew to M. d'Aumont, I urged, I conjured him: it was in fact so much my interest to persuade him! But I had to do with a man obstinate like all little minds, and implacable like all ignoble hearts. I for a moment believed that he was about to yield; he appeared to waver; but he changed again on a sudden, telling me that he could not act of himself alone, but must have some regard to the views of his family.

I returned disappointed and sorrowful to give an account of my mission to M. de Choiseul, who took me the same day to Versailles. On our arrival he returned the privilege to M. de Saint Florentin, only retaining for me, upon this journal, a pension of five thousand livres, which I thought too much. M. de la Place had

the Mercure, the subscriptions to which diminished so much, that those who had pensions on it began to be greatly alarmed. That their fears might not increase, I permitted M. Lutton, who had the care of the receipt and expenditure, to raise on my pension the gratifications given to the authors who furnished pieces for the Mercure. At length, some years afterwards, I was fortunate enough to be able entirely to resign this pension. I have since learned what I did not then know, that the parody was written by M. de Curi, and that M. Marmontel chose rather to sacrifice his fortune, than to betray his friend.

Several places in the French Academy successively became vacant: the philosophers declared with reason for M. Marmontel; but the opposite party always succeeded in their endeavours to prevent his admission. On one occasion when these hopes appeared to be better founded, M. d'Argental, who acted so ridiculous a

part in the parody of Cinna, exerted himself by intriguing among those Academicians who had a friendship for me: they urged me again to offer myself, and again I rejected the proposal. I even prevailed on M. de Gontaut to represent to Madame de Pompadour, and to those who opposed the admission of M. Marmontel, how cruel it was, after having ruined a man of merit, to continue to persecute him with such implacability.

Some philosophers never pardoned me the momentary acceptance of the privilege of the Mercure, and still less the patronage of M. and Madame de Choiseul.

I have seen in a collection of manuscript letters written by M. d'Alembert at Berlin to Madame l'Espinasse how much this prejudice rendered him unjust towards me. He had been informed, apparently, that I intended to dispute with M. Marmontel a vacant place in the academy; which was absolutely false; and he says, in answer, that "one Marmontel is worth a

thousand Barthelemys." I am well convinced that M. Marmontel has more merit than I can pretend to, but I do not think that he has a thousand times as much, and the calculation of the geometrician appeared to me erroneous.

One word more on the French academy. After the reception of M. Marmontel, M. de Foncemagne and his friends, who were very numerous, would have undertaken, more than once, to procure my admission; but several reasons prevented me from offering myself. I had but too much occupied the attention of the public, during the unfortunate affair of the Mercure; I was not sufficiently anxious for literary honours to wish to purchase them at the price of the intrigues of a violently contested election; and I had too much vanity to desire to enter into a body in which the public opinion would rank me among the lowest class. Two philosophical powers, Duclos and d'Alembert, had declared war against the court, and

especially against M. de Choiseul, who, though he had a high opinion of their talents, had a very mean one of their principles. At every sitting they produced against him new manifestoes. How would it have been possible that I should have endured patiently those scenes of fury, when even those Academicians who had no connection with him were disgusted at them? This war continued till the elevation of Madame du Barry threatened France with subjection to M. d'Aiguillon, as a favourite. Duclos and d'Alembert defended M. de la Chalotais, who was persecuted by M. d'Aiguillon, and supported, it was said, by M. de Choiseul. From that moment all the crimes of the latter disappeared; it was resolved to grant him peace with a treaty of alliance; and he was offered, by the baron de Breteuil, the first vacant place in the academy, with a dispensation from the customary visits. M. de Choiseul, who had never been informed of their dispositions successively

hostile and pacific, was pleased with this attention, and had it not been for his banishment from court, which suddenly took place, soon after, he would have heard his eulogium in the same hall which had so often resounded with invectives against him.

I presume that their amnesty would have extended to me; for about that time M. d'Alembert having expressed his surprise to M. Gatti, our common friend, that I should never have offered myself for a seat in the academy, added, with a kind of pique, " After all, I should never have thought that any person in the world would not have found himself flattered at seeing his name inserted in a list which contains the names of Voltaire, Buffon, and, I may venture to say, that of d'Alembert."

I shall presently explain the motives which afterwards induced me to offer myself. I will now resume the course of my fortune, which was valuable to me,

because I owed it to friendship, and because it enabled me to enjoy the lively pleasure of doing some good. One day when Madame de Choiseul spoke to her husband of my attachment for them, he replied, with a smile, by this verse of Corneille:

*Je l'ai comblé de biens; je veux l'en accabler**.

In 1765 the treasurership of the abbey of Saint Martin de Tours became vacant. This was the second dignity in the chapter, and the king had the nomination to it. M. and Madame de Choiseul requested it for me. I took advantage of this opportunity to resign two thousand livres of my pension on the Mercure, of which one thousand were given at my request to M. Marin; and one thousand to M. de la Place, to assist him in the payment of the other pensions on the journal.

The duke de Maine, when colonel general of the Swiss regiments, had created

* I have heaped benefactions on him; I wish to overwhelm him with them.

for M. de Malezieux, whom he greatly esteemed, the office of secretary general, to which he annexed certain privileges and emoluments that appertained to himself, and which he sacrificed in his favour. M. de Choiseul had already once disposed of this place to M. Dubois, first clerk of the war office, with the reserve of a pension of six thousand livres to Madame de Saint-Chamant, the grand-daughter of M. de Malezieux. M. Dubois dying the latter end of January 1768, M. de Choiseul gave me the place; on which the men of literature, from jealousy, raised loud exclamations. The two leaders, Duclos and d'Alembert, went to Malesherbes, and spoke to him with asperity, and even with anger, and he could only pacify them a little, by representing to them that this place might become, by this example, the patrimony of men of letters. I cannot too often repeat that the revenues of the secretary general belonged originally to the colonel general, and that he might dispose

of them at his pleasure. I shall add, at the same time, that some days after my appointment, I gave up the three thousand livres that remained to me on the Mercure; of which I procured a thousand to be given to M. de Guignes, a thousand to M. de Chabanon, both my brother members of the academy, and a thousand to M. de la Place, the author of the Mercure. I must admit, that on this occasion, d'Alembert, and the other philosophers annexed a much higher value to this sacrifice than I did myself.

In 1771, M. d'Aiguillon caused the Swiss regiments to be taken from M. de Choiseul, who was then at Chanteloup. He sent in his resignation, and I wished to accompany it with mine; but he advised me to go to Paris, and not to give it up without an indemnification. I had determined, however, if the place of colonel general should be given to any of the common class of nobility, to resign my brevet, and immediately to return to Chan-

teloup. But it was conferred on the count d'Artois, and such a proceeding did not appear to me sufficiently respectful. The next day after my arrival, I saw Madame de Brionne, who honoured me with her favour. The marechal de Castries was then with her, and on the point of setting out for Versailles. She requested him to use his influence to procure my place to be preserved to me; but I entreated them both with a warmth which appeared greatly to affect them to cause it to be taken from me as soon as possible, because, having contracted an engagement with M. de Choiseul, I could not enter into another with any person whatever. I immediately set out for Versailles, and offered my brevet to the count d'Affry, who, under the count d'Artois, had the management of the business of the Swiss regiments. He refused it, and shewed me at the same time a letter from M. de Choiseul requesting him to take care of my interests. The indignation excited at court by the new persecution

which M. de Choiseul suffered on the part of M. M. d'Aiguillon, and de la Vauguyon, had turned into favour to me. Every one murmured, and advised me to maintain my rights. The young count d'Artois complained to the king that he was obliged to begin the exercise of his new office by a flagrant injustice; and the king answered that he would give me an appointment with which I should be satisfied. However M. M. de Montaynard, de la Vauguyon, and d'Aiguillon, urged M. d'Affry to lay the affair before the king; and I joined in the request with still more ardour; but it was always deferred. In the interval two or three courtiers of the second or third rank, asked me in private whether they might, without offending M. and Madame de Choiseul, solicit my place. Another person came to inform me that if I would promise not to return to Chanteloup, something might be done in my favour. I did not wish to trace this advice back to the first author, but he who gave

it me was attached to the duke d'Aiguillon. At length M. d'Affry, seeing me inflexible in my resolution, concluded the affair by reserving to me on the place a pension of ten thousand livres, which I had not asked.

The state of my fortune had now for some time been sufficient to permit me to procure conveniences and enjoyments which I thought I ought to deny myself. I might have set up my carriage had I not feared to blush at meeting on foot, in my road, men of letters more deserving than myself. I contented myself, therefore, with keeping two saddle horses, in order that I might take exercise on horseback, which had been recommended to me by my physicians. I purchased the best and most elegant editions of the books necessary for my labours, and had a great number of them bound in morocco. This was the only luxury in which I thought I might indulge myself. I educated and provided for, in the best manner I was able, three of

my nephews; and afforded support to the rest of my family in Provence. I never refused relief to unfortunate persons who applied to me; but I severely reproach myself with having too much given them the preference to relations whose necessities were not known to me, by their fault, or by mine. My revenue, considerable, no doubt, for a man of letters, would have been much more so, had I not limited it myself by cessions and refusals. It has already been seen that I resigned my pension on the Mercure. I had in like manner given up that I enjoyed in quality of censor. I had twice refused the honourable and profitable place of perpetual secretary to the academy of Belles Lettres. After the death of M. Hardion, keeper of the books in the king's cabinet at Versailles, M. Bignon wished to give me this place, which was productive both of utility and emolument, but I prevailed on him to dispose of it in favour of another. M. Lenoir, in 1789, having given in his resignation of the place of li-

brarian to the king, M. de Saint Priest, then minister, had the goodness to offer it to me. Seduced by the hope of establishing this place as the property of men of literature, I was tempted to accept it, though I was sensible how much the sacrifice of my time, and of my literary labours would be painful to me: but having soon found that it was only offered to me because I was thought necessary to secure it to the president d'Ormesson, who was in treaty for it with M. Lenoir, and whom it was intended to make my associate, and successor in case of survivorship; disgusted besides at the difficulties which my appointment would occasion in the pecuniary arrangements between M. Lenoir and him, arrangements to which I ought to have been, and wished to be a stranger, and seeing the only hope which could have overcome my repugnance vanish, I renounced the ambitious views which I had entertained for literature, and not for myself. The manner in which my thanks for the offer which I declined were

received, and the facility with which the affair was immediately after concluded, convinced me that I had acted rightly; and that if it had been at first thought necessary to give me the place, it was then found very proper to set me aside.

I ought not to omit, in a narrative of the events of my life, my admission into the French academy, from which I had always held myself at a distance; nor the reasons which obliged me in some sort to solicit a place in it. In the course of this same year (1789) M. Bauzée died. The success of the *Travels of Anacharsis* had inflamed the zeal of some members of that body, with whom I had long been connected: they communicated their sentiments of esteem and friendship for me to a great number of their brethren, who proposed to them to offer me the place left vacant by M. Bauzée. I was affected with the warmth with which they expressed to me the wish of the academy; but I had taken my resolution, and, notwithstanding their

earnest solicitations, I remained firm; objecting my age, and especially my repugnance to any kind of public exhibition, and every new engagement. I thought I had escaped, when I learned, a few days after, that the academy, in one of its sittings, had resolved to elect me, notwithstanding my refusal. It was easy to foresee the consequences of this resolution. If, after the election, I accepted the place, it would not fail to be said that I had wished to be dispensed from the customary visits, and to obtain a distinction to which the greatest men had not pretended; if I refused, I should offend a respectable body, at the very moment they were conferring on me the highest honour. I therefore no longer hesitated; I made my visits; my age prevented any competition; and, to complete my good fortune, M. de Boufflers, who had always testified a friendship for me, performed, in quality of director, the honours of the sitting. My discourse was received with indulgence: all admired the wit, the graces,

and the novel and impressive ideas which shone in his, and a part of the interest which he excited was reflected on the choice of the academy.

Since that time, beaten almost incessantly by the revolutionary tempest, oppressed by the weight of years and infirmities, stripped of all that I possessed, deprived every day of some one of the dearest of my friends, trembling continually for the small number of those which remained, my life has been only a series of ills. If fortune had till then treated me with too much kindness, she has since taken sufficient revenge. But it is not my intention to complain: when we suffer in the general oppression, we may groan, but must not complain. Let it only be permitted to my heart, oppressed with grief, to shed some tears to friendship—I ought to mention, nevertheless, that in the midst of my suffering I experienced a very unexpected consolation, which inclined me to believe for a moment, that I was suddenly transported into another world; and I can-

not without ingratitude, conceal the name of the humane and generous man to whom I was indebted for it.

Immediately after my release from the Madelonettes, to which I had been committed prisoner on the second of September of the present year 1793, on the denunciation of I know not what clerk; as were also the other keepers of the library, and my nephew Courçay, who was my associate in the cabinet of medals; I learned that notwithstanding the acknowledged falsehood of this denunciation, it was intended to dismiss us and appoint others to our places. This report appeared to me to have the more foundation, as the keys of the cabinet, which the minister of the interior had caused to be taken from me when we were arrested, had never been returned to me; and were confided every day, not to me or my nephew, but to a clerk of the cabinet, who kept it open to the public, morning and evening. I expected, therefore, every moment to see myself deprived of this last

resource which remained for my subsistence; when, on the 12th of October, in the evening, I saw enter my apartment, citizen Paré, the minister of the interior, who gave me a letter which he had written himself, and which he requested me to read. This letter presents so strong a contrast to our present manners, it does so much honour to the minister who could write it in these unhappy times, that I cannot resist the desire to transcribe it here, in order to pay, as far as is in my power, the tribute of my gratitude:—

The 21st day of the 1st month of the 2d year of the Republic, one and indivisible.

PARÉ, *Minister of the Interior*,

To BARTHELEMY, *Keeper of the National Library*.

"On re-entering the national library, from which "some rigorous circumstances have for a moment "removed you, say with Anacharsis, when he "viewed with surprise and delight the library of "Euclid, *My resolution is taken, I will never leave* "*this place.* No, citizen, you shall never leave "it more, and I found my certainty of this on "the justice of a people which will always con-

" sider it as an inviolable law to reward the author " of a work which, with so many charms, presents " to our imagination the flourishing times of " Greece, and those republican manners which pro- " duced so many great men and so many great ac- " tions. I confide to your care the national library; " I flatter myself that you will accept this honour- " able office, and I congratulate myself on being " able to offer it you. When I read for the first " time the *Travels of Anacharsis*, I admired that " production in which genius has bestowed so many " charms on erudition; but I was far from imagin- " ing that I should one day be the instrument em- " ployed by an equitable people to give to its au- " thor a testimony of their gratitude.

" I will not dissemble that this sanctuary of hu- " man knowledge has hitherto felt but little of " the influence of the revolution; that the people " as yet are ignorant that this domain is theirs; that " they ought continually to have free access, and " to meet there only *Callias'* equally disposed to re- " ceive, and to instruct them as brethren. Let, then, " citizen, by your care, this monument, so worthy " of a great nation, at length offer to us all those " precious advantages which were presented to the " imagination and the eyes in the smallest republics " of antiquity.

"PARE."

The more than obliging style of this letter, the behaviour of the minister, the grace with which he accompanied his benefaction, his earnest persuasion that I would accept of it, the testimonies of regard for me which he lavished on me; all combined to make the strongest impression on me. I could not find words to express the gratitude with which I was penetrated; but the consciousness of my inability, to fulfil, in the condition in which I was, the duties of librarian, gave me strength to resist. He had the goodness to testify regret at my refusal; and it was with difficulty that he consented to leave me in the place which I had so long occupied, and which had always been sufficient for my ambition.

I have given, in the former part of this Memoir, a summary idea of my labours in the cabinet of medals, during the latter years of my predecessor: in the following memoir will be seen what I did afterwards, and what I proposed to do, to enrich it, and render it more and more useful.

MEMOIR II.

On the Cabinet of Medals.

As soon as I was appointed keeper of the cabinet of medals, I employed my attention on the means of rendering it as useful as might be practicable.

1. Such a depository cannot be public. As the medals are arranged in paste-board cases, and several persons may put their hands on them at a time, it would be easy to carry them off, or to substitute for valuable medals such as are spurious or common. Notwithstanding this inconvenience I rendered the cabinet more accessible; but I fixed no day in the week when admission should be granted to every person indiscriminately. When an individual offered himself, either alone, or accompanied by one or two friends, he was admitted immediately. If a man of learning, an artist, or a foreigner, applied for several admissions, I never refused them. With respect to companies, I required to

be previously informed, and I assigned them different days; by which I avoided a crowd without refusing any person. Yet, notwithstanding these precautions, I was often assailed by very numerous groups, and I had no other resource, after I had got rid of them, but carefully to examine the shelves at which they had been looking.

2. I considered it as incumbent on me to give in writing all the elucidations and information requested of me by men of learning, either from our provinces, or from foreign countries. These answers sometimes required long discussions, and sometimes a mechanical labour still longer and more tiresome; such, for example, as to weigh exactly a certain number of medals or coins. There will be found in one of my boxes several statements of these weights, and in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, a dissertation, by the late M. de Nauze, on the Roman pound. I had furnished him with the

exact weight of all the medals of the higher empire. This labour cost me not less than twenty days, and was a great expence to me. I had then no person to assist me. I must observe that several of these medals have been since exchanged for others in better preservation, the weight of which differs from the former by some grains.

3. I had flattered myself that I might one day publish, in whole or in part, the cabinet of which the care was confided to me; and it would in consequence be necessary to bring it to such a degree of perfection, that it might become more useful, and maintain, or rather increase, the high estimation in which it was held throughout Europe. I distinctly foresaw the whole extent of the labour which such an undertaking would impose on me. It would be necessary, before a medal was inserted in any series, to ascertain its authenticity, and the peculiarities by which it was distinguished from another medal,

nearly similar, already to be found in the series. It would afterwards be necessary to give its description in a supplement, with references to the catalogue, as also the time when it was acquired, and the name of the person from whom it was obtained. These minute details become so insupportable when they are numerous, that some acknowledgment must be due to the keeper, who, not content with preserving and communicating the riches of the cabinet, sacrifices to the desire of increasing them labours more agreeable to himself and more suited to obtain the public attention.

When Louis XIV. formed the cabinet, series of modern coins and medals, in gold and silver, struck in every part of Europe, were collected. After the death of Colbert these series were neglected. I resolved to resume the collection of those in silver, and began with Sweden and Denmark. I sent to Stockholm and Copenhagen an account of the medals we had of those

two kingdoms, and our ambassadors procured and transmited all those which were wanting. These cost twenty thousand livres. M. d'Argenson, who had the literary department, thought it preferable to give our attention to ancient medals.

About the end of the year 1734, M. Cary, my friend, died at Marseilles. He left a cabinet of medals worthy of attention. From the accounts sent me by my brother, I estimated the value at eighteen thousand livres. He was satisfied with that price. I spoke to M. d'Argenson on the subject, who promised me an ordonnance for that sum, but in paper. The heir wished to have ready money, which, however, could not be given. The minister proposed twenty-two thousand livres, payable in different years. M. Cary consented, but on condition that these successive payments should be secured to him. This negotiation was protracted. I was about to set out for Rome, and was to pass through Marseilles. M. Cary at length

wrote to me, that if the eighteen thousand livres were not paid by St. Louis' day 1755, he should dispose of the medals to a foreign agent, who had the money ready. I related my embarrassment to one of my friends, M. de Fontferrieres, farmer general, who, in the most obliging manner possible, gave me a note on the director general of the farms at Marseilles, and the money was paid me immediately. I remitted the eighteen thousand livres to M. Cary, with the approbation of M. d'Argenson, whom I had previously informed of the transaction. I packed up the whole cabinet, and lodged it as a pledge with M. de Fontferrieres. On my return, in 1757, he restored it to me, and would never receive any interest for the sum he had advanced. The ordonnance, as M. d'Argenson had proposed, had been made out in 1755, for twenty-two thousand livres; and the four thousand livres which remained after the payment of the eighteen thousand, were deposited in the treasury of

the library. M. d'Argenson was then no longer in office, and I could not obtain for M. de Fontferrieres any acknowledgment of gratitude, or even of satisfaction.

This acquisition procured many valuable medals in all the series contained in the cabinet.

The series of gold medals was particularly enriched, in 1762, by the collection of M. de Cleves, which might vie in beauty with that of the national cabinet. It was sold for fifty thousand livres. M. du Hodent, an intelligent amateur, was the purchaser. Before he made his offers, he wished to be assured that the cabinet would take a part of it. I was promised an ordonnance for twenty thousand livres, but in notes which were at a discount, and would only produce in reality fourteen thousand. M. du Hodent concluded his bargain, and brought me immediately the whole collection. With these fourteen thousand livres, I not only acquired the medals wanting in our gold series, but I

exchanged many others which were in bad preservation.

Among the former I ought not to forget the unique and celebrated medal of Uranius Antoninus, who under the reign of Alexander Severus was raised to the empire by the army of the east, and who soon after lost both the crown and his liberty. Such also is another unique medal of Constantius III. the father of Valentinian III. associated to the empire by Honorius III. his father in law. Such is also the medal of the empress Fausta, the wife of Constantine the Great, and that of the empress Licinia Eudoxia, the wife of the emperor Placidus Valentinian. There were likewise several others which serve to form the chain of the princes and princesses who have filled the throne of the Roman empire.

The cabinet of M. de Cleves furnished besides a number of excellent medals for the series of the ancient republics, and that of the ancient kings of Greece.

M. Pellerin, who was for a very long time first clerk of the marine, and afterwards succeeded by his son, had formed the most valuable cabinet ever possessed by an amateur. The acquisition of several private collections had laid the foundation of it, and a correspondence for more than forty years with all our consuls in the Levant had enriched it with a prodigious number of valuable, and till then unknown, Greek medals; and the explanation which the possessor had given of them, in several volumes, in quarto, had rendered it extremely celebrated.

In 1776, M. M. Pellerin proposed to add this superb cabinet to that of the king. Circumstances were favourable. M. de Maurepas, who had always patronized that family, was then minister; and M. de Malesherbes minister and secretary of state for the literary department. I presented several memoirs, but I did not attempt to interfere in the valuation. M. Pellerin, whose will was absolute, demand-

ed a hundred thousand crowns, take them or leave them. The bargain was concluded at this price, but executed by M. Pellerin in a manner so rude and offensive, that I was more than once tempted to prevent its completion. I could not obtain, not only the giving up of the catalogues, but even the communication of them, and was obliged to be contented with some general notices, and a cursory glance at the shelves. It is true that I was perfectly well acquainted with this cabinet, and that, notwithstanding the impatience of M. Pellerin, I had time to ascertain the authenticity of the medals which he had caused to be engraved.

At that time I thought that the price paid for this cabinet was above its value, but I found sufficient reason to change my opinion when I came to insert the different series into those of which I had the direction.

After the cabinet had been removed, M. de Pellerin made me a present of his

work on medals, in nine volumes quarto. I already had it; but this copy contained a great number of manuscript notes written principally against myself. This was a gratuity of a new kind.

Some years after the death of M. Pellerin, the cabinet of M. d'Ennery was sold. This was particularly distinguished for a numerous series of Imperial medals in gold, which he had obtained from M. de Vaux, and had greatly increased. The catalogue of this cabinet was published in one volume quarto. No person offered to take the whole of it, and it was sold in detail. The gold medals were divided into lots of ten or twelve each. We had taken account of those which we wanted, and were fortunate enough to obtain a great number of them. As these medals were sold almost for the value of the gold, we purchased for about twelve thousand livres, what were worth twenty-five or thirty thousand. M. de Breteuil, then minister and secretary of state, very willingly consented to this arrangement.

Besides the cabinets of M. M. Cary, Cleves, Pellerin, and Ennery, frequent accidental acquisitions, and a constant correspondence which I maintained with the learned of different countries, procured me, in the space of forty years, a very great number of medals, as may be seen in the supplements and catalogues that I have drawn up. I was especially desirous to obtain those which had been elucidated in particular works, or had occasioned disputes among the learned. Of this I might give many examples, but two or three shall suffice.

The fathers Corsini and Frœlich had published a medallion in silver, on which one had read *Minnisar*, and the other *Adinnigao*, which the one took for a Parthian, and the other for an Armenian king. I had seen this medallion at Florence, in the possession of Baron de Stosch, whom I could not prevail on to let me have it, but I afterwards obtained it from his nephew.

I had seen in the cabinet of the Chevalier Vettori at Rome, four Latin medals, in small bronze, which appeared to me to be relative to Christianity. They had at first belonged to the antiquarian Sabbatiori, who had caused them to be engraved without explaining them. One of them has, on one side, a head covered with a lion's skin with the name of Alexander; and on the reverse a she ass with her foal, and round them the name of Jesus Christ. For the two others I refer to the engravings published by Vettori*. These medals are referred by Vettori to the reign of Alexander Severus, and by father Paciaudi to that of Julian the Apostate†. Before them

* De vetustate et formâ monogrammatis sanctissimi nominis Jesu dissertatio. Romæ 1747, in 4to. p. 60. Id. Epist. ad Paulum Mariam Paciaudi. Ibidem 1747, in 4to. p. 15. Id. Dissert. Apologet. de quibusdam Alexandri Severi numismatibus. Ibid. in 4to. p. 6.

† Osservazioni di Paolo Maria Paciaudi Teatino sopra alcune singolari e strane medaglie Napoli 1748, p. 48.

Montfaucon had published the first of these medals, from a drawing which he had received frcm Italy*. In consequence of the celebrity which these three antiquaries had given to the medals in question, I was eager to acquire them after the death of Vettori; though by this acquisition I did not consider myself as vouching for their authenticity, I only proposed to enable those who might desire it to inspect and examine them.

M. Henrion, of the Academy of Belles Lettres, had formerly published a medal of Trajan, in silver, re-coined with a Samaritan die. This relict of antiquity, the more valuable as it removes several uncertainties relative to Samaritan medals, had fallen into the hands of the Abbé de Tersan, who had also discovered another of the same sort. At my request, he consented to an exchange, and I deposited them in the cabinet.

* Antiq. Expliq. t. ii. part 2. pl. 168.

I conceived that by a continuance of this attention, the cabinet might become a general depository, in which those rare medals which sometimes fall into the hands of individuals, and afterwards disappear, might be preserved.

I have taken an account of all the valuable additions which I acquired for the cabinet. The ancient medals amount to twenty thousand, and are equal, both for rarity and number, to those which since its establishment had placed it at the head of all the cabinets of Europe.

I do not mention the modern medals; though I did not neglect them, I did not think that they ought to be attended to with the same care.

The duplicates of medals which the acquisition of a cabinet procured me, enabled me to make exchanges, and thus obtain many which I could not have purchased with money.

If my success was a source to me of pleasing satisfaction, the scrupulously

careful insertion of so many medals in their proper places cost me great labour. I never proposed the acquisition of a cabinet without exposing myself to the sacrifice of a very considerable portion of my time. I acknowledge, however, with pleasure that my nephew Courçay, who became my associate in 1772, greatly relieved me in my labours, as well with respect to the acquisitions posterior to that period, as the daily business of the cabinet.

I have always met with the utmost facility of accommodation for the enriching the depository committed to my care, on the part of librarians and ministers; and I had reason to rely on their assistance for the completion of a design of which I had never lost sight: I mean the engraving and publication of the cabinet. I proposed to begin with the series of Greek kings, annexing a brief commentary, the fruit of an experience of sixty years, and the examination of more than four hun-

dred thousand medals. As my age did not permit me to complete this undertaking, I felt, some years since, the necessity of associating with my nephew another assistant, who being early initiated in the knowledge of these remains of antiquity, might be enabled to contribute to the execution of my project. I cast my eyes on M. Barbié, who had already acquired extensive knowledge in ancient history and geography. I proposed him to M. de Breteuil, who was willing to give him an employment in the cabinet. I represented to him, likewise, that it was time to communicate to the learned of Europe the treasure which I had under my care. He received my proposition with that zeal which he has always manifested for the advancement of literature and the arts; but different circumstances prevented the fulfilment of his good wishes. These were, first, the ill state of the finances; afterwards the assembling of the Notables, the States general, &c. M. Barbié has

since been placed in another department of the library without its being thought necessary even to inform me of his appointment.

MEMOIR III.

On Anacharsis.

Chance first suggested to me the idea of the Travels of Anacharsis. I was in Italy in the year 1755, less attentive to the actual state of the cities through which I passed than to the recollection of their ancient splendor. My thoughts naturally reverted to the age in which they disputed with each other the glory of fostering in their bosom the sciences and the arts, and I conceived the idea that the relation of a journey through this country, about the time of Leo X, which should be continued during a certain number of years, would exhibit characters and scenes the most interesting and instructive for the history of the human mind. This will appear from the following sketch :—

A Frenchman passes the Alps : he finds at Pavia Jerome Cardan, who has written upon almost all subjects, and whose works

amount to ten volumes in folio. At Parma he sees Corregio, painting *in fresco* the dome of the cathedral; at Mantua Count Balthazar Castiglione, author of the excellent work entitled the Courtier *(Il Cortigiano)*; at Verona Fracastorius, a physician, philosopher, astronomer, mathematician, cosmographer, and man of general literature; celebrated under all these titles, but more especially as a poet. For the greater part of writers at that time endeavoured to distinguish themselves in every branch of science, as will constantly be the case when literature is first introduced into a country. At Padua he attends the lectures of Philip Decius, professor of the civil law, and renowned for the superiority of his talents and his extensive knowledge. Padua was then in a state of dependence on Venice. Louis XII. having seized on the Milanese, was desirous to render its capital illustrious by fixing the residence of Decius there; and in consequence caused him to be demanded of the repub-

lic of Venice, which refused to consent to his removal. The negotiations on this subject continued a long time; and the two powers were near appealing to arms to determine which should possess a civilian.

At Venice, our traveller sees Daniel Barbaro, the inheritor of a name auspicious to literature, and the lustre of which he has preserved by commentaries on the Rhetoric of Aristotle, by a translation of Vitruvius, and a Treatise on Perspective. He sees there also Paulus Manutius, who exercised the art of printing, and cultivated literature with the same success as his father, Aldus Manutius. At the house of Paul he finds all the editions of the ancient Greek and Latin authors, which had lately issued from the most famous printing-presses of Italy: among others that of Cicero, in four volumes folio, published at Milan, in 1499; and the Psalter in four languages, Hebrew, Greek, Chaldee, and Arabic, printed at Genoa in 1516.

He sees at Ferrara, Ariosto ; at Bologna, six hundred scholars, assiduously attending the lectures on jurisprudence delivered by the professor Ricini ; and among them Alciatus, who soon after lectured to eight hundred, and eclipsed the glory of Bartolus and Accursius. At Florence he sees Machiavel ; the historians Guicciardini, and Paulus Jovius, a flourishing university, and that house of Medici formerly engaged in pursuits of commerce, but now a sovereign house, and allied to many royal families ; which in its first state, exhibited great virtues, and in its latter great vices ; but which was always illustrious and celebrated, because it always patronized literature and the arts. At Sienna he finds Matthiolus employed on his commentary on Dioscorides ; at Rome Michael Angelo erecting the cupola of St. Peter's ; Raphael painting the galleries of the Vatican; Sadolet and Bembo, afterwards cardinals, officiating as secretaries to Leo X ; Trissin bringing on the stage his Sophonisba, the first tra-

gedy composed by a modern; Beroald, the librarian of the Vatican, preparing for publication the Annals of Tacitus, which had lately been discovered in Westphalia, and which had been purchased by Leo X. at the price of five hundred golden ducats. He witnesses also the offers of the same pope, of places under the government to such learned men of any nation, as would come and reside in his states, and distinguished rewards to those who should bring to him manuscripts newly discovered.

At Naples he finds Talesio endeavouring to revive the system of Parmenides, and who, according to Bacon, was the first restorer of philosophy. He finds also there the famous Jordano Bruno, whom nature seems to have chosen for her interpreter; but to whom, while she bestowed on him the most admirable genius, she refused the talent of self-government.

Hitherto our traveller has only been represented as traversing Italy rapidly from

one extremity to the other, meeting every where with prodigies, I mean with great monuments and great men, and filled with admiration continually increasing: similar objects would everywhere arrest his attention were he to change his course. What a harvest of discoveries then might he reap! What an abundant source would he find for reflections as to the dawn of that knowledge which has diffused its splendor over Europe! I had intended to have confined myself merely to pointing out in a general manner these researches; but my subject draws me on, and demands some more particular explanations.

Italy in the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian æra was subjugated by the Heruli, the Goths, the Ostrogoths, and other barbarous tribes till then unknown. In the fifteenth, under more favourable auspices, it was subdued by talents and genius which were invited thither, or at least assembled there, by the families of Medici, Est, Urbino, Gonzaga, by the most

petty sovereigns, and the different republics. Great men every where abounded, some natives of Italy, others attracted from different countries, not so much by the contemptible expectations of interest, as by the most flattering and honourable distinctions; and others from the neighbouring nations, to assist in the propagation of learning, superintend the education of youth, or watch over the health of the sovereigns. Every where were established universities and colleges; printing houses for all languages, and every science; and libraries continually enriched with the works that issued from them, and with manuscripts discovered in, and brought from countries where ignorance still maintained her gloomy reign. So numerous were academies, that at Ferrara there were not less than ten or twelve; at Bologna about fourteen; at Sienna sixteen. The objects of their institution were the sciences, literature, languages, history, and the arts. In two of these academies, one of which

was especially devoted to Plato, and the other to his disciple Aristotle, the opinions of the ancient philosophy were discussed, and those of the modern suggested. At Bologna, as also at Venice, one of these academies had the care of the press, attending at once to the goodness of the paper, the beauty of the type, the correction of the proofs, and whatever might conduce to the perfection of the new editions.

Italy was then the country in which learning had already made, and was still making, the greatest progress. This progress was the effect of the emulation that prevailed between the different governments among which it was divided, and the nature of the climate. In every state the capital, and even the less considerable towns were eager for the attainment of learning, and literary glory. Almost all of them presented the astronomer with observatories; the anatomist with amphitheatres; the botanist with gardens well

stocked with plants; the learned in general with numerous collections of books, medals, and ancient monuments. Every kind of knowledge was treated with grateful esteem, and rewarded with the most honourable distinctions.

As to climate, it is not uncommon to find in this country active and inventive imaginations, and minds accurate and profound, adapted to the conception of great enterprises, capable of long meditating upon them, and incapable of abandoning them when once happily formed. It is to these advantages and these qualities combined that Italy is indebted for that mass of knowledge and talents which at some periods raised her so eminently above the other countries of Europe.

I have placed Ariosto under the pontificate of Leo X. I might have considered as the contemporaries of this poet Petrarch, though he lived a hundred and fifty years before him; and Tasso, though he was born eleven years after him; the

former, because it was not till the time of Leo X, that his Italian poems, neglected almost from their birth, were admired and passed through numerous editions, several of which were accompanied with commentaries; and Tasso, because he had in a great degree formed his taste and stile from the works of Ariosto. It is thus that we give the name of the Nile equally to the sources and mouths of that river. All the different species of poetry were then cultivated. Besides Ariosto, we may cite, as excelling in Italian poetry, Bernard Tasso, father of the celebrated Torquato Tasso, Hercules Bentivoglio, Annibal Caro, and Berni; in Latin poetry, Sannazarius, Politian, Vida, and Beroaldus; and among those who without being professed poets occasionally wrote verses, Leo X, Machiavel, Michael Angelo, and Benvenuto Cellini, who excelled as a sculptor, a worker in gold, and an engraver.

The progress of architecture in the age of which we are speaking is attested, on the one hand, by the works of Serlio, Vignola, and Palladio; as also by the numerous commentaries which made their appearance on the treatise of Vitruvius; and on the other, by the public edifices and private buildings then erected, and which still remain.

With respect to painting I have already mentioned Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Corregio; to whom must be added Julio Romano, Titian, Andrea del Sarto, and the numerous artists whose genius was formed by their instructions and their works.

Every day appeared some new production on the systems of Plato, Aristotle, or other ancient philosophers. Indefatigable critics, such as Giraldus, Panvinius, Sigonius, and others, employed themselves on the Roman antiquities, and almost every town collected its annals.

While some writers, to display the history of man in all its extent, explored the origin of the most ancient nations; in-

trepid navigators exposed themselves to the greatest dangers to discover distant and unknown countries, whose existence had before been only suspected. The names of Christopher Columbus of Genoa, Americus Vespucius of Florence, and Sebastian Cabot of Venice, adorn this list, which was quickly enlarged by those of several other Italians, whose accounts were shortly after inserted in the collection of voyages by Ramusio, their countryman.

The taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, and the liberal munificence of Leo X. occasioned an influx of Greeks into Italy, who brought with them all the elementary books relative to the mathematics. Their language was in consequence eagerly studied; their books were printed, translated and explained, and a taste for geometry became general. Many, among whom were Commandinus and Tartaglia, devoted their whole attention to this study: others connected it with their favourite pursuits: such was Maurolico of

Messina, who published various works on arithmetic, mechanics, astronomy, optics, music, the history of Sicily, grammar, the lives of some saints, and the Roman martyrology, without neglecting Italian poetry: such also was Augustin Niso, professor of philosophy at Rome under Leo X. who wrote on astronomy, medicine, politics, morals, rhetoric, and several other subjects.

Anatomy was enriched by the observations of Fallopius of Modena, of Aquapendente his disciple, of Bolognini of Padua, of Vigo of Genoa, &c.

Aldrovandi of Bologna, after having been professor of botany and philosophy forty-eight years in the university of that city, left at his decease a course of natural history in seventeen volumes in folio.

Among the immense number of works which then appeared, I have not mentioned those which treat exclusively on theology or jurisprudence, as they are well known to those who cultivate these sciences, and

would be but little interesting to those who are unacquainted with them. With regard to the other classes, I have adduced only a few examples, taken, as I may say, at random. They will suffice, however, to shew the different kinds of literature then most cultivated, and the different means employed to extend and multiply human knowledge.

The progress of the arts favoured a taste for public exhibitions and magnificence. The study of the history and antiquities of the Greeks and Romans, gave rise to ideas of decorum, uniformity and perfection before unknown. Julian of Medici, the brother of Leo X. having been proclaimed a Roman citizen, this proclamation was accompanied with public sports; and a large theatre was erected in the square of the Capitol, in which was represented, during two days, a comedy of Plautus, the music and magnificent scenery of which excited general admiration. The pope, who conceived that on this occasion he might con-

vert into an act of beneficence what was in reality an act of justice, diminished some of the taxes; and the people, who took this act of justice for an act of beneficence, erected a statue to him.

An observer who should thus see nature suddenly disclosing so many secrets, philosophy discovering so many truths, and industry so many inventions, at the time, too, when a new world was added to the old, might suppose himself present at a second birth of the human race: but his surprise at all these wonders would diminish, when he saw merit and talents successfully contending with the most respected titles, and the learned, and men of literature of every class, admitted to the Roman purple, to the councils of kings, to the most important offices of government, to every honour, and every dignity.

To render still more interesting the Travels I proposed to write it would have been sufficient to subjoin to that spirit of emulation which displayed itself on every side,

all the new ideas to which this astonishing revolution gave birth; the commotions which then agitated the nations of Europe; the conformity with ancient Rome which incessantly recurred to the mind; and all that the present times announced to the future. For the age of Leo X was the dawn of those that succeeded; and many men of genius who flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were, in a great degree, indebted for their celebrity to those whom Italy had produced in the two preceding centuries.

This subject presented to my view scenes so rich, diversified, and instructive, that I was at first strongly inclined to adopt it: but considering afterwards that it would require me to apply to a kind of studies entirely new to me; and recollecting that a journey through Greece, about the time of Philip, the father of Alexander, without taking me out of the course of my ordinary occupations, would afford me an opportunity of comprising, within suitable

limits, whatever is most interesting in Grecian history, with a great variety of particulars relative to the sciences, arts, religion, manners, customs, &c. of which history does not take notice, I eagerly embraced this idea, and after having long revolved it in my mind, I began my work in 1757, immediately after my return from Italy.

A numerous library might be formed of the works published on Grecian antiquities. Gronovius has brought together a small part of them in his collection in twelve volumes folio. There are found, among others, the treatises of Ubbo Emmius, Cragius, and Meursius. The latter has exhausted every thing which the ancients have left us with respect to the Athenians, and has arranged these passages, in different chapters, relative to different subjects. Though some passages have escaped him, though he has been sometimes mistaken in his explanations of those he has collected, and has often neglected to reconcile those which are contra

dictory; it is impossible sufficiently to admire and praise his immense labours.

I will venture to affirm that mine have not been less to ascertain the truth of facts. The following is the manner in which I proceeded.

I had read the ancient authors: I read them again with the pen in my hand, taking notes of all the passages which might elucidate the nature of the governments, the manners and laws of the different states, the opinions of the philosophers, &c. Before I discussed any subject, I examined and compared my extracts with the originals. I afterwards consulted the modern critics, who had written on the same subject, whether in its whole extent or partially. If they adduced passages that had escaped my researches, and which might be of use to me, I took care to insert them in my notes, after having compared them with the originals. When their explanation differed from mine, I again resorted to the source, and carefully exa-

mined what was probably the true sense of the original. Lastly, when they presented me with happy ideas, I adopted them; but always in that case made it a point to cite the authors.

My plan, with great advantages, was exposed likewise to great difficulties.

1st. The Grecian history, of which only a part of the records has come down to us, presents innumerable difficulties, both with respect to facts and to opinions. The writer who has no other object than to discuss them, may compare and weigh the authority of the witnesses he interrogates: the more he hesitates, the more he gives an advantageous idea of his knowledge and critical sagacity. But by placing Anacharsis on the stage, I take from him almost always the resource of doubt. He ought always to speak positively, since he only relates what he has seen, or heard from persons perfectly well informed. This too is not all: at the period which I have chosen, so much had been written on his-

tory and the sciences, that the traveller ought not to confine himself to teaching us what he might presume we already knew. As these difficulties were continually present to my view, I have endeavoured, when I could not overcome them, to free myself from them, sometimes by avowals which lessen the weight of them, and sometimes by sacrifices which entirely remove them.

In Chap. I. Anacharsis observes, that it was not till his return to Scythia that he drew up the narrative of his travels, "which," he adds, "possibly would have been more accurate had not the ship by which I sent my books been lost in the Euxine sea." Whence it follows that in the revision of his work, deprived of the same assistance as is wanting to us, he could not enlarge, or write with minute accuracy, on certain subjects of which he retained only a slight remembrance.

In Chap. XX. he could have wished to have given some particulars on the price

of commodities, and consequently on the value of the different kinds of property of the Athenians. Not being able to do this, he says, that he had taken an exact account of the price of the different articles of provision, but that he had lost it, and could only remember that the usual price of corn was five drachmas the medimnus; the best ox was worth about eighty drachmas, &c.

In Chap. XLVI. he mentions the law of Lycurgus which established the equality of fortunes among the citizens. According to the ordinary course of things such a law could not long subsist. By what precautions did Lycurgus propose to ensure its duration? The question is of some importance; but from want of materials we are unable to resolve it. I make Anacharsis say—" When I was at Sparta, the regularity of the possessions of individuals had been deranged by a decree of the ephorus Epitades, who wished to avenge himself of his son; and as I neglected to inform

myself of their ancient state, I shall only be able to explain the views of the legislator on this subject, by recurring to his principles."—Here follow some reflexions which my traveller proposes as simple conjectures.

When such modifications have not been sufficient, I have been silent, sometimes with respect to customs which were only attested by one writer, too posterior to the age in which I suppose Anacharsis to have lived; sometimes with respect to facts concerning which, notwithstanding all my endeavours, I could find no certainty. These sacrifices have been considered by some persons as omissions, and I have been asked why I have not been more explicit on certain subjects; as, for example, why I have not mentioned the pretended law of the Cretans, which permitted the insurrection of the people when they thought themselves oppressed. Montesquieu has cited it from Aristotle; but Montesquieu was mistaken. Aristotle, in fact, speaks of

this insurrection, but as an abuse which was in no manner authorized by the laws. In general it was important for me to discuss every thing; and still more so, not always to decide.

2d. I had another inconvenience to fear: the judgment of a class of men of literature, truly estimable, but extremely difficult. I could not convey Anacharsis to Delos, to Tempe, into the midst of the festivals of Greece, without representing him as sensible to the splendor of the spectacles there exhibited. I could not employ dialogue, so proper to avoid the monotony of stile, without bringing my traveller into the presence of the great men who then lived, and even of some unknown persons who might give him information. It is thus my Scythian receives an account of the Grecian literature from an Athenian named Euclid; of the different systems on first causes, from the high priest of Ceres; of the institution of Pythagoras, from a Pythagorean whom he meets with at

Samos, the native country of that philosopher.

Pausanias has related at considerable length the events of the three wars of Messenia. They are so instructive that I could not be allowed entirely to omit them; and so well known, that to render them more interesting I have comprized the principal circumstances of them in three elegies. I thought myself the more authorized to give this form to my narrative, since Pausanias has derived almost all his materials from the poems of Tyrtæus and Rhianus, who had both sung these celebrated wars. I have, at the same time, informed the reader, in a note, of the liberty I had taken.

Now, among the men of literature to whom I have alluded, there are some who, accustomed to dry and rigorous discussions, will not pardon me for having adorned my narrative with images which give it more life and activity. What I have foreseen has happened. Many among them have

treated my work as a romance, and have imputed this to me as a crime. Others, less severe, have had the candour to distinguish the substance from the form. The substance presents them with an accuracy sufficiently attested, as I think, by the multitude of citations which accompany the narrative. As to the form, they ought to have perceived that the ornaments with which I have thought it proper to embellish my subject are conformable to the character of the Greeks; and that fictions, judiciously managed, may be as useful to history as they are to truth.

I do not mean to speak of some trivial criticisms, which I have found in periodical publications. One censures me for not having sufficiently elucidated the origin of fables. He was ignorant, doubtless, that very able critics have in vain endeavoured to discover it, and that it is probable it will always remain unknown. Another could have wished that I had

given the particular history of the Athenians for the ages anterior to that of Solon; but this history does not exist in ancient authors, and I was obliged to confine myself to collecting the small number of facts which they have recorded. Lastly, a learned Englishman, in a collection of critical dissertations, after having attacked the authenticity of an inscription brought home by M. Fourmont from the Levant, and which I had endeavoured to explain, has thought proper to give his opinion on the Travels of Anacharsis. He admits the work to be very agreeable, but says it is at the same time very superficial.

Nothing is more embarrassing to an author than these vague accusations, so easy to advance, and so difficult to refute, because they have no determinate object. I shall content myself with saying that I have not treated any subject till I had for a long time considered it, nor without comparing, amid the contradictions that presented themselves, the testimonies of ancient

authors, and the opinions of commentators and modern critics, and giving, when necessary, the result which appeared to me nearest the truth. I concealed my labour to render it more useful. I renounced the merit, if it is one, of displaying in the text an extensive erudition. When certain points appeared to me sufficiently important to require discussion, I examined them in the notes at the end of each volume. All these notes appeared to me necessary, and there are some of them which I think cannot be contemned as superficial.

I have rather chosen to be accurate than to appear profound, to suppress certain facts, than only to support them by conjecture, not to endeavour to investigate, when my researches, as well as those of the most able critics, could only tend to confound; and rather to enable the reader to make reflexions, than to hazard them myself. I have often admired those philosophers who, from their own particular ideas, have given us observations on the

genius, character, and policy of the Greeks and Romans. Every author must necessarily follow his own plan; it did not enter into mine to send a traveller to the Greeks to carry them my ideas, but to bring me theirs, as much as possible. To conclude, if I have been mistaken in some instances, if my work is not without defects, I shall not blush: more understanding cannot be required of me than nature has given me. I only regret that after having employed on it more than thirty years, I had not begun it ten years sooner, or finished it ten years later. When it was completed, I long hesitated concerning its publication. I should have left it in manuscript had I not been convinced that, considering the number of citations, notes, and tables, the author alone could conduct it properly through the press. It was finished in December, 1788. Some friends advised me to delay the publication till the conclusion of the assembly of the States General, which were then

about to be convoked, and already agitated the public mind. Their reasons instead of persuading me, induced me to publish the work immediately. I wished that it might glide silently into the world; and if, notwithstanding that, it should attract some attention, I should be the more flattered; if its fall were prompt and rapid, I should have provided an excuse for my self love.

Its success surpassed my hopes; the public received it in the most favourable manner; the French and foreign journals spoke of it with eulogium. The English *Monthly Review*, vol. 81, gave a long critique on it. The authors of that journal treated me in a manner which gives them a claim to my gratitude; but they conclude by an observation which requires an explanation on my part. It is possible, say they, that the plan of this work may have been taken from that of the *Athenian Letters*.

These Letters were written in the years

1739 and 1740, by a society of friends who were finishing their course of studies in the university of Cambridge. In 1741 they printed them in octavo; but only took off a dozen copies. In a second edition printed in 1781, they took off a greater number; but both these editions were only for the use of the authors; which occasioned the English Journalists to say that the Athenian Letters were, properly speaking, never published; but as they add that they were communicated to a number of persons, it may be imagined that the secret was discovered to me, and this suspicion may be increased by the consideration that one of the works seems to be only a continuation of the other.

Both place in Greece, at two different periods, an eye-witness employed in observing and collecting whatever appears to him worthy of attention. In the *Athenian Letters*, Cleander, the agent of the king of Persia, residing at Athens during the Peloponnesian war, maintains a regular corre-

spondence with the ministers of that monarch, and with different individuals. He gives them an account of the events of that war, of the efforts made to perpetuate it, and of the divisions that prevail among the states of Greece. He describes their forces by sea and land, their military discipline, policy, government, laws, manners, festivals, monuments; nothing escapes this profound observer. He converses with Phidias, Aspasia, Alcibiades, Socrates, Cleon, Thucydides: He writes on the philosophy of the Greeks, sometimes in his letters to Smerdis, who resides in Persia, and who, in his answers, treats on the philosophy of the Magi; and sometimes in those to Orsames, who is travelling in Egypt, and who in his letters in reply, gives an account of the laws and antiquities of that country. Thus are ingeniously collected under one view the principal facts and particulars in the history of the Greeks, Persians, and Egyptians, and these facts, derived from ancient authors give occa-

sion to parallels equally instructive and interesting. This fine design is executed with a perfection correspondent to the felicity with which it was conceived.

Had I seen this model, I should either never have begun my work, or I should never have finished it; and this I declared to one of my friends residing in London, M. Dutens, Fellow of the Royal Society, and Associate of the Academy of Belles Lettres, known by many excellent works. He communicated my letter to the authors of the Monthly Review, who had the politeness to insert a part of it in their number for April, 1790, page 477.

In the mean time I received from England a superb copy, in quarto, of the *Athenian Letters,* in front of which I found the following manuscript note.

" Lord Dover, of the family of York, embraces with eagerness the opportunity which presents itself of offering, through the means of M. Barthelemy, minister

plenipotentiary from his most Christian Majesty at the court of London, to the Abbé Barthelemy his uncle the homage so justly due to the learned and elegant author of the *Travels of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece*, by transmitting to him this volume of *Athenian Letters*.

"The origin of this production is explained in the second preface in front of the work. The letters signed P, are by Philip York, Earl of Hardwick, eldest son of the Lord High Chancellor of that name; those signed C, are by his brother Mr. Charles York, who also attained to the elevated post of Lord Chancellor, but died too soon for his family and his country. The other letters are written either by their relatives or friends.

"In requesting the Abbé Barthelemy to accept this literary present, it is not presumed to compare this work to the charming *Travels of Anacharsis*, but merely to give a testimony of esteem to its illustrious author, and to signify how flattering

it is to find that an idea which has originated here, fifty years ago has been long after brought to perfection with so much elegance, without any communication, by an author worthy of the subject."

London, December 21, 1789. DOVER.

In transcribing this so flattering note from Lord Dover, I yield to my self-love; and I sacrifice it by expressing my wish that the Athenian Letters may be translated into French.

NOTE OF THE FRENCH EDITORS. Since the death of M. Barthelemy, the *Athenian Letters* have been reprinted and published in England under the title of *Athenian Letters, or the Epistolary Correspondence of an Agent of the k ng of Persia residing at Athens during the Peloponnesian War; a new edition, in two volumes, illustrated with engravings, and a map of Ancient Greece, London*, 1798. A distinguished associate of the National Institute M. Villeterque has undertaken a translation of this work, and will soon fulfil the wish of our author by publishing it. In this new edition we find the following answer to the note of Lord Dover.

" My Lord,

" I have the honour to return you thanks for the elegant copy of the *Athenian Letters*, which you have had the goodness to transmit to me; and especially for the too flattering note written with your own hand, with which you have deigned to accompany it. In the course of last summer, I for the first time heard of this work from Mr. Jenkinson. I have hitherto only been able to look it over cursorily. Had I been acquainted with it sooner, I should either never have begun mine, or have endeavoured to approach nearer to so fine a model. Why has it not been communicated to the public? Why has it not been translated into all languages? I would willingly sacrifice my last days to the pleasure of enriching with it our literature, were I better acquainted with the niceties of the English language; but I would not undertake to finish it lest the same should happen to me as to those who have at

tempted to continue the Discourse of Bossuet on Universal History.

"Deign to accept the homage of gratitude and respect with which, &c.

Paris, January 1, 1790. BARTHELEMY."

END OF THE MEMOIRS.

ADVERTISEMENT

BY

THE AUTHOR.

I IMAGINE a Scythian, named Anacharsis, to arrive in Greece, some years before the birth of Alexander; and that from Athens, the usual place of his residence, he makes several excursions into the neighbouring provinces, every where observing the manners and customs of the inhabitants, being present at their festivals, and studying the nature of their governments; sometimes dedicating his leisure to inquiries relative to the progress of the human mind, and sometimes conversing with the great men who flourished at that time; with Epaminondas, Phocion, Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, &c. As soon as he has seen Greece enslaved by Philip, the father of Alexander, he returns into Scythia, where he puts in order an account of his travels; and, to prevent any interruption in his narrative, relates in an introduction the memorable events which had passed in Greece before he left Scythia.

The æra I have chosen, which is one of the most interesting that the history of nations presents, may be considered in two points of view. With respect to literature and the arts, it connects the age of Pericles with that of Alexander. My Scythian has conversed with a number of Athenians, who had been intimately acquainted with Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Thucydides, Socrates, Zeuxis, and Parrhasius. I have mentioned some of the celebrated writers who were known to him. He has seen the masterly productions of Praxiteles, Euphranor, and Pamphilus, make their appearance, as also the first essays of Apelles and Protogenes; and in one of the latter years of his stay in Greece, Epicurus and Menander were born.

Under the second point of view, this epocha is not less remarkable. Anacharsis was a witness to the revolution which changed the face of Greece, and which, some time after, destroyed the empire of the Persians. On his arrival, he found the youth Philip with Epaminondas: he afterwards beheld him ascend the throne of Macedon; display, in his contests with the Greeks, during two and twenty years, all the resources of his genius; and, at length, compel those haughty republicans to submit to his power.

I have chosen to write a narrative of travels

rather than a history, because in such a narrative all is scenery and action; and because circumstantial details may be entered into which are not permitted to the historian. These details, when they have relation to manners and customs, are frequently only indicated by ancient authors, and have often given occasion to different opinions among modern critics. I have examined and discussed them all before I have made use of them; I have even, on a revisal, suppressed a great part of them, and ought perhaps to have suppressed still more.

I began this work in the year 1757, and, since that time, have never intermitted my labours to complete it.* I should not have undertaken it, if, less captivated by the beauty of the subject, I had consulted my abilities more than my courage.

The table which follows this advertisement, will show the chronological order which I have observed.

* This was written about the latter end of 1788, when the original was published.

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

OF THE

TRAVELS OF ANACHARSIS.

	Bef. Christ.
CHAP. I. Anacharsis departs from Scythia, in April of the	Year 363
CHAP. VI. After having made some stay at Byzantium, Lesbos, and Thebes, he arrives at Athens,	March 13, 362
CHAP. IX. He goes to Corinth and returns to Athens,	April 1st of the same year
CHAP. XII, &c. He describes the city of Athens, and gives the result of his inquiries relative to the government, manners, and religion of the Athenians,	Same year
CHAP. XXII. He sets out for Phocis,	April, 361
CHAP. XXIII, &c. He returns to Athens, and, after having related several events that had passed from the year 361 to the year 357, he treats of several particulars relative to the customs of the Athenians, the history of the sciences, &c.	
CHAP. XXXIV, &c. He departs for Bœotia, and the northern provinces of Greece,	357
CHAP. XXXVII. He passes the winter between 357 and 356 at Athens, whence he proceeds to the southern provinces of Greece,	March, 356

Bef. Christ.

CHAP. XXXVIII. He is present at the celebration of the Olympic games, July, same year

CHAP. LIV, &c. He returns to Athens, where he continues his usual researches.

CHAP. LX. He relates the remarkable events that happened in Greece and Sicily, from the year 357 to the year 354.

CHAP. LXI. He sets out for Egypt and Persia, 354

During his absence, which continues eleven years, he receives several letters from Athens, which bring him information relative to the affairs of Greece, the enterprises of Philip, and various interesting facts.

CHAP. LXII. On his return from Persia, he finds, at Mitylene, Aristotle, who communicates to him his Treatise on Government, of which Anacharsis, makes an abridgment, 343

CHAP. LXIII, &c. He returns to Athens, where he employs himself in his usual researches, Same year

CHAP. LXXII, &c. He makes a voyage to the coast of Asia, and several of the islands of the Ægean sea, 342

CHAP. LXXVI. He is present at the celebration of the festivals of Delos, 341

CHAP. LXXX. He returns to Athens, and continues his inquiries.

CHAP. LXXXII. After the battle of Chæronea, he returns to Scythia, 337

INTRODUCTION.

IF we may credit ancient traditions, the first inhabitants of Greece had no other dwellings than deep caverns, which they quitted only to dispute with the beasts of the field their coarse and sometimes noxious aliments.[a] United at length under daring chiefs, they increased their knowledge, their wants, and their misfortunes. A sense of their weakness had rendered them wretched; they became really so from the perception of their powers. War commenced;—violent passions were enkindled;—and terrible was the destruction which ensued. Torrents of blood were poured forth to secure the possession of a country. The victors devoured the vanquished, death hung over every head, and vengeance filled every heart.[b]

But whether it be that man at length wearies

[a] Plat. in Prot. t. i. p. 322. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 8. 21. Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 1. p. 599. Macrob. in Somn. Scip. lib. 2. cap. 10.

[b] Euripid. in Sisyph. Fragm. p. 492. Mosch, ap. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 18. Athen. lib. 14. p. 660. Sext. Empir. adv. Rhet. lib. 2. p. 295. Cicer. de Invent. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. i. p. 24. Id. Orat. pro Sext. cap. 42. t. vi. p. 38. Horat. Sat. lib. 1. sat. 3. v. 99.

of his ferocity, or that the climate of Greece, sooner or later, softens the character of its inhabitants, various hordes of savages received with open arms the legislators who undertook to civilise them. These legislators were Egyptians, who had lately arrived on the coasts of Argolis. Repairing thither in search of an asylum, they founded an empire;[c] and it was doubtless an interesting scene to behold savage and barbarous tribes approach, with trembling, the foreign colony; admire their peaceful labours; fell their forests, as ancient as the world; discover under their very feet a soil before unknown, and render it productive; spread themselves, with their flocks, over the plains; and ultimately pass their tranquil and blissful days in that innocent serenity which has procured to those remote periods the name of the GOLDEN AGE.

This revolution commenced under Inachus,[d] who brought into Greece the first Egyptian colony,[e] and continued under his son Phoroneus.[f] In a short space of time, the face of Argolis, Arcadia, and the adjacent countries, was entirely changed.[g]

[c] Cast. apud Euseb. Chron. lib. 1. p. 11. Syncell. p. 64. 124.

[d] In the year 1970 before Christ.

[e] Freret, Def. de la Chronol. p. 275.

[f] Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 15. p. 145. Clem. Alexand. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 84. Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. p. 131.

[g] Pausan. lib. 8. p. 601.

About three centuries after, Cecrops, Cadmus, and Danaus, arrived;[h] the first in Attica, the second in Bœotia, and the third in Argolis. They brought new colonies of Egyptians and Phœnicians. Industry and the arts now passed the boundaries of the Peloponnesus; and their progress, if we may so speak, added new tribes of men to the human species.

Nevertheless, a part of the savages had retired into the mountains, or towards the northern regions of Greece. They attacked these rising societies, which opposing valour to ferocity, brought them to submit to law; or compelled them to fly to other climates, there to enjoy a wretched independence.

The reign of Phoroneus is the most ancient epoch of the history of the Greeks in general,[i] as that of Cecrops is of the history of the Athenians. Since the reign of this latter prince, there is a space of twelve hundred and fifty years, which may be divided into two intervals; the one extending to the first Olympiad; the other terminating with the taking of Athens by the Lacedæmonians.* I shall now proceed to

[h] Cecrops, in the year 1657 before Christ. Cadmus, in 1594. Danaus, in 1586.

[i] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 22. Clem. Alex. t. i. p. 380. Plin. lib. 1. cap. 56. t. i. p. 473.

* Cecrops, in the year before Christ 1657. First Olympiad, in 776. Taking of Athens, in 404.

relate the principal events that have occurred in both these periods, chiefly bestowing my attention on those which respect the Athenians; and I think it proper here to apprise the reader, that, under the former, the historical facts and fictions of fable, equally necessary to be known in order to understand the religion, the customs, and monuments of Greece, will be indiscriminately blended in my narrative, as they now are in all our ancient traditions. Perhaps, too, my style may be found tinctured with that of the authors I have consulted. When we wander in the land of fiction, it is difficult not occasionally to borrow its language.

FIRST PART.

THE colony of Cecrops derived its origin from the city of Saïs in Egypt.[k] The adventurers who composed it had quitted the happy banks of the Nile, to withdraw themselves from the tyranny of an inexorable conqueror; and, after a tedious voyage, reached the shores of Attica, at all times inhabited by a people whom the fierce nations of Greece had disdained to

[k] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 21. Theopomp. ap. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 10. N° 10. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 24.

bring under the yoke. Their barren fields offered no plunder, nor could their weakness inspire any dread.[l] Habituated to the enjoyments of peace, free without knowing the value of liberty, rude rather than barbarous, they must have united themselves without difficulty to strangers instructed by misfortune. In a short time the Egyptians and the inhabitants of Attica formed but one people: but the former acquired over the latter that ascendency which sooner or later invariably attends superiority of knowledge; and Cecrops, placed at the head of the united people, conceived the noble design of bestowing happiness on his adopted country.

The ancient possessors of these lands saw yearly a regular succession of the wild fruits of the oak, and relied on nature for a reproduction which secured their subsistence. Cecrops presented them with a milder nutriment, and taught them to perpetuate it. Various species of grain were entrusted to the earth.[m] The olive was brought from Egypt into Attica.[n] Trees hitherto unknown extended their branches laden with fruit over rich harvests. The inhabitant of Attica, led by the example of the Egyptians, expert in agriculture, redoubled his efforts,

[l] Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 2. Isocr. Panegyr. t. i. p. 130.
[m] Schol. Tzetz. ad Hesiod. Oper. v. 32. Cic. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 25. t. iii. p. 158.
[n] Syncell. p. 153.

and inured himself to fatigue; but he was not yet stimulated by hopes sufficiently powerful to mitigate his pains, and animate him in his labours.

Marriage was subjected to laws;[o] and these regulations, the sources of a new order of virtues and enjoyments, sufficiently evinced the advantages of decency, the attractions of modesty, and the desire of pleasing; the happiness of loving, and the necessity of constancy in love. The father heard the secret voice of nature in the recesses of his heart:—he heard it in the heart of his spouse and of his children. He surprised himself shedding tears, no longer wrung from him by suffering; and learned to esteem himself by the exercise of sensibility. Families soon became connected by alliances or mutual wants, and ties innumerable united every member of society. The benefits they enjoyed were no longer confined to themselves; nor the sufferings from which they were exempted foreign to their feelings.

Other motives facilitated the practice of moral and religious duties. The first Greeks offered their homage to gods whose names they knew not; and who, too far removed from mortals, and reserving all their power to regulate the

[o] Justin. lib. 2. cap. 6. Athen. lib. 13. p. 555. Suid. in Promet. Nonn. Dionys. lib. 41. v. 386. Schol. Aristoph. in Plut. v. 773.

motions of the universe, only made known some few of their supreme commands, on rare occasions, in the little district of Dodona in Epirus.[p] The foreign colonies bestowed on these deities the names by which they were known in Egypt, in Lybia,[q] and Phœnicia; attributing to each of them a limited empire and peculiar functions. The city of Argos was particularly consecrated to Juno;[r] that of Athens to Minerva;[s] that of Thebes to Bacchus.[t] By this slight addition to the religious worship of the country, the gods seemed to become more immediately connected with Greece, and to share its provinces among them. The people believed them more accessible, by supposing them less powerful, and less occupied. They found the gods present with them on every side; and, certain henceforward of securing their attention, they conceived a more elevated idea of human nature.

Cecrops multiplied the objects of public veneration. He invoked the soveriegn of the gods under the title of the Most High.[u] He erected numerous temples and altars; but prohibited the shedding of the blood of victims, either to

[p] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 52.
[q] Id. lib. 2. cap. 50.
[r] Hygin. Fab. 143. Lact. ad Stat. Theb. lib. 1. v. 541; lib. 4. v. 589.
[s] Apollod. lib. 3. p. 237. Syncell. p. 153.
[t] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 49. Freret, Def. de la Chronologie, p. 319.
[u] Meurs. de Reg. Athen. lib. 1. cap. 9.

preserve the animals destined to agriculture, or to inspire his subjects with horror for a barbarous scene exhibited in Arcadia.[x] A man, a king, the ferocious Lycaon, had recently sacrificed an infant to those gods, whom we cannot but offend when we violate the dictates of nature. The homage offered them by Cecrops was more worthy of their benignity: his offerings were ears of corn or grain, the first fruits of the harvests with which they enriched Attica; and cakes, the tribute of that industry, the value of which his subjects now began to know.

In all the institutions of Cecrops, wisdom and humanity shone conspicuous. The end of some was to procure his subjects a tranquil life, and to ensure to them honour and veneration, even beyond the grave. He ordained that they should deposit their mortal remains in the bosom of the common mother of all mankind, and that the earth which covered them should immediately be sown, that the husbandman might not be deprived of any portion of the soil.[y] The relations of the deceased, with their heads decorated with crowns, gave a funeral repast; at which, without listening to the voice of flattery or friendship, the memory of the virtuous man was honoured, and a stigma fixed upon that of the wicked. By this instructive custom the people

[x] Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 2. p. 600.
[y] Cic. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 25. t. iii. p. 158.

were taught, that the man who aspired to preserve, after his death, a second life in the public esteem, must at least wish to leave a reputation for which his children might have no cause to blush.

The same wisdom may be observed in the institution of a tribunal which appears to have been erected towards the latter years of the reign of this prince, or at the beginning of that of his successor;[z] I mean the senate of Areopagus, which, from its first establishment, never pronounced a judgment that gave just occasion for complaint,[a] and more than anything contributed to give the first ideas of justice to the Greeks.[b]

Had Cecrops been the author of these memorable institutions, and of various others which he employed to instruct and civilise the Athenians, he would have been the first of legislators, and the greatest of mortals; but they were the work of a whole nation, attentive to bring them to perfection for a long series of ages. They were brought by him from Egypt; and the effect they produced was so speedy, that Attica was soon peopled by twenty thousand inhabitants,[c] who were divided into four tribes.[d]

[z] Marmor. Oxon. epoch 3. p. 348.
[a] Demosth. in Aristoc. p. 735.
[b] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 38.
[c] Philoc. ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. od. 9. v. 68.
[d] Steph. in Ακτ. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. sect. 109. Eustath. in Dionys. v. 423.

So rapid a progress attracted the attention of the hordes who lived only by rapine. Pirates landed on the coast of Attica; while the Bœotians ravaged the frontier,[e] and spread terror on every side. Cecrops availed himself of these inroads to persuade his subjects to collect their habitations, then scattered over the country, and to secure them by a wall against the depredations they had lately suffered. The foundations of Athens were laid upon the hill where the citadel is still to be seen.[f] Eleven other towns soon arose in different places; and the inhabitants, seized with consternation, sacrificed what they must have held most dear without reluctance. They renounced the freedom of the rural life,[g] and shut themselves up within walls; which they would have considered as the abode of slavery, had they not been compelled to have recourse to them as the asylum of weakness. Protected by their ramparts, they were the first of the Greeks to lay down, during peace, those destructive arms, which formerly they had never quitted.[h]

Cecrops died after a reign of fifty years.[i] He had espoused the daughter of one of the prin-

[e] Philoch. apud Strab. lib. 9. p. 397.
[f] Plin. lib. 7. cap. 56. t. i. p. 413. Eustath. in Dionys. v. 423. Etymol. Magn. in Επακρ.
[g] Philoch. apud Strab. lib. 9. p. 397.
[h] Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 6.
[i] Suid. in Promet.

cipal inhabitants of Attica,[k] by whom he had a son, whose death he lived to see; and three daughters, to whom the Athenians afterwards decreed divine honours.[l] His tomb is still preserved in the temple of Minerva:[m] and his memory perpetuated, in indelible characters, in the constellation of Aquarius, which has been consecrated to him.[n]

After Cecrops, reigned seventeen princes, during the space of about five hundred and sixty-five years, the last of whom was Codrus.

The greatest part of these merit not the attention of posterity; and, in fact, of what importance is it that some of them were deprived by their successors of the dignity they had usurped, and that the names of others have escaped by chance from oblivion? Let us seek, in the history of their reigns, those peculiarities which must have had an influence on the character of the nation, or have contributed to its happiness.

Under the reigns of Cecrops and of his successor Cranaus, the inhabitants of Attica enjoyed an almost continual peace. Accustomed to the sweets and obligations of society, they studied

[k] Apollodor. lib 3. p. 239.
[l] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 53. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 18. 27. Etymol. in Αῤῥεφ.
[m] Antioch. ap. Clem. Alexan. t. i. p. 39.
[n] Hygin. Poet Astronom. lib. 2. cap. 29.

their duties in their wants, and formed their manners from example.

Their knowledge, increased by such intimate connections, was still more improved by intercourse with the adjoining nations. Some years after Cecrops, the light of the East penetrated into Bœotia. Cadmus, at the head of a Phœnician colony, brought thither the most sublime of all the arts—that of preserving, by a few simple lines, the fugitive sounds of speech, and the most subtle operations of the mind.[o] The invention of letters, introduced into Attica, was there soon after employed to preserve the memory of remarkable events.

We cannot pretend to fix with any degree of precision the time in which other arts were discovered; on this subject we have no other guide than tradition. Under the reign of Erichthonius, the colony of Cecrops accustomed horses, already docile to the bit, to draw wheel-carriages,[p] and profited by the labour of bees, which useful race of insects they carefully preserved on Mount Hermettus.[q] Under Pandion they made new progress in agriculture;[r] but a

[o] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 58. Lucan. lib. 3. v. 220. Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. lib. 1. cap. 20.

[p] Plin. lib. 7. cap. 56. t. i. p. 416. Ælian. Hist. Var. lib. 3. cap. 38. Aristid. in Minerv. Orat. t. i. p. 22. Virgil. Georg. lib. 3. v. 113.

[q] Columell. de Re Rustic. lib. 9. cap. 2.

[r] Meurs. de Regib. Athen. lib. 2. cap. 2.

long drought having destroyed the hopes of the husbandman, the harvests of Egypt supplied the wants of the colony,[s] which thence contracted a taste for commerce. Erechtheus, his successor, rendered his reign illustrious by useful institutions;[t] and the Athenians dedicated a temple to him after his death.[u]

These successive discoveries redoubled the activity of the people, and, by procuring them abundance, prepared the way for their corruption: for no sooner did they perceive that the enjoyments of life may be increased, by calling in the aid of art to nature, than the awakened passions hurried them eagerly towards this new image of happiness. Blind imitation, that powerful motive of the greater part of human actions, and which at first had only excited a gentle and beneficent emulation, soon produced the love of distinction, the desire of preference, jealousy, and hatred. The principal citizens, acting on these various springs at their pleasure, filled the state with dissensions, and directed their ambitious views to the throne. Amphictyon obliged Cranaus to abdicate the sovereignty, and was himself compelled to surrender his crown to Erichthonius.[x]

[s] Diodor. Sic. lib. 1. p. 25.
[t] Diordor. ibid. Meursius, ibid. cap. 7.
[u] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 55. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. cap. 19. t. ii. p. 503. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 26. p. 62.
[x] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 7.

In proportion as the kingdom of Athens acquired strength, those of Argos, Arcadia, Lacedæmon, Corinth, Sicyon, Thebes, Thessaly, and Epirus, were seen gradually to become more powerful, and in various revolutions act their part on the stage of the world.

In the mean time ancient barbarism again made its appearance, in contempt of laws and manners.[y] Men of extraordinary bodily strength arose at intervals, who infested the highways to attack passengers; and cruel princes, who inflicted lingering and painful punishments on the innocent. But nature, which incessantly balances evil with good, to destroy these scourges, gave birth to men still stronger than the former, no less powerful than the latter, and more just than either. These travelled over Greece, and freed it from the violence both of kings and individuals. They appeared to the Greeks as beings of a superior order: and that infant people, no less extravagant in their gratitude than in their fears, rewarded the least exploits with so much glory, that the honour of protecting them became the first ambition of noble minds.

This kind of heroism, unknown to succeeding ages, and to other nations, yet the best adapted to conciliate the motives of pride with the interest of humanity, shone forth in every

y Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 3.

part of Greece, and exercised itself in a thousand various ways. Did some ferocious beast, issuing from the recesses of the woods, spread terror through the plains, the hero of the district held it to be his duty to triumph over the monster, in view of a people who still considered strength as the first of qualities, and courage as the sublimest virtue. Sovereigns themselves, flattered with annexing to their titles the pre-eminence of a merit held in the highest estimation in their age, engaged in combats, which, by giving proof of their bravery, seemed to add legitimacy to their power. But soon they became enamoured of the dangers they had heretofore contented themselves with not dreading. They went to court them at a distance, or promoted them around their persons; and as virtues exposed to praises are but too liable to become enfeebled, their bravery, degenerating into temerity, changed its object no less than its character. Their enterprises were no longer directed by the good of the people; every thing was sacrificed to violent passions, and impunity redoubled their licentiousness. The hand which had lately dragged a tyrant from his throne, despoiled a just prince of the wealth which he had inherited from his fathers, or ravished from him a queen distinguished for her beauty. The history of the ancient heroes is sullied by these disgraceful stains.

A number of these adventurous chiefs, known by the name of Argonauts,* formed the project of making a voyage to a distant country, to gain possession of the treasures of Æetes, king of Colchis.[z] This could not be effected but by traversing unknown seas, and perpetually braving new dangers: but having already signalised themselves individually by so many heroic achievements, they concluded, and justly, that, by forming a communion of interests, they should prove invincible. Among these heroes we find Jason, who seduced and carried off Medea, the daughter of Æetes, but lost, during his absence, the throne of Thessaly, to which his birth entitled him; Castor and Pollux, the sons of Tyndarus, king of Sparta, celebrated for their valour, and still more celebrated for a fraternal union which has obtained them altars; Peleus, king of Phthiotis, who would have been considered as a great man, had not his son Achilles been still greater than himself; the poet Orpheus, who shared those labours which he alleviated by his songs; and lastly, Hercules, the most illustrious of mortals, and first of the demi-gods.[a]

Of the last the whole earth is filled with the

* About the year 1360 before Christ.

[z] Homer. Odyss. lib. 12. v. 70. Schol. ibid. Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 145. Diodor. Sic. lib. 4. p. 245. Apollod. lib. 1. p. 53. Apollon. Argon. &c.

[a] Diod. lib. 4. p. 223. Apollon. Argon. lib. 1. p. 4.

renown and the monuments of his glory. He was descended from the kings of Argos: fable indeed tells us he was the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon; that the Nemean lion,[b] the bull of Crete, the wild boar of Erymanthus, the Lernæan hydra, and monsters still more ferocious, fell beneath his arm. He also was the conqueror of Busiris, king of Egypt, who basely polluted his hands with the blood of strangers; Antæus of Libya, who only delayed their deaths till he had vanquished them in wrestling; the giants of Sicily, the Centaurs of Thessaly, and all the robbers of the earth, whose limits he drove backward to the west,[c] as Bacchus had fixed them to the east. He is said likewise to have opened mountains to unite nations; to have dug straits to intermingle seas; to have triumphed over the infernal powers, and to have given victory to the gods in their combats with the giants.

His history is a series of prodigies, or rather, it is the history of all those who have borne the same name, and undergone the same labours as himself.[d] Tradition has magnified their exploits; and by uniting them in one man, as well as by ascribing to him alone all the great enter-

[b] Apollod. lib. 2. p. 109, &c.
[c] Plat. in Phæd. t. i. p. 109.
[d] Diod. Sic. lib. 3. p. 208. Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib 3. cap. 16. t. ii. p. 500. Tacit. Ann. lib. 2. cap. 60.

prises the authors of which are unknown, has bestowed on him a splendour that seems to reflect lustre on the human species. For the Hercules whom men adored is a phantom of greatness, elevated between earth and heaven, as it were to fill up the interval. The real Hercules differed from other men only by his strength, and resembled the gods of the Greeks only by his infirmities: the good and evil he performed in his frequent expeditions obtained him a celebrity during his life, which gave Greece a new defender in the person of Theseus.

This prince was the son of Ægeus, king of Athens, and of Æthra, daughter of the sage Pittheus, who reigned at Trœzen. He was educated in that city, where the fame of the illustrious deeds of Hercules filled him with emulation; he listened to the recital of them with an ardour the more eager, as he was united to that hero by the ties of consanguinity; and his impatient soul panted to overleap the barriers by which he was confined.[e] A spacious field now opened to his wishes. Robbers once more began to make their appearance; and monsters again issued from their forests: for Hercules was in Lydia.

To gratify this ardent courage, Æthra discovers to her son the secret of his birth. She

[e] Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 3.

conducts him to an enormous rock, which she commands him to raise:[f] he there finds a sword, and other tokens of his birth, by which he was one day to be recognised by his father. Furnished with these, he takes the road of Athens; in vain do his mother and his grandfather persuade him to go thither by sea; the counsels of prudence offend him no less than the suggestions of timidity: he prefers the path of danger and of glory, and quickly arrives at the haunts of Sinis.[g] It was the practice of this cruel man to fasten those whom he had overcome to the branches of trees, which being forcibly bent down, sprang up, laden with the bleeding limbs of the unhappy sufferers. Further on, Sciron had taken possession of a narrow path over a mountain, whence he precipitated travellers into the sea. Still further, Procrustes extended them on a bed, the length of which must be the exact measure of their bodies, which he shortened or lengthened by dreadful torments.[h] Theseus attacked these barbarous robbers, and put them to death by the cruelties they had themselves invented.

After multiplied conflicts and successes, he arrived at his father's court, at that time dis-

[f] Plut. ibid. et Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 27.
[g] Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 4. Diodor. Sic. lib. 4. p. 262. Apollod. lib. 3. p. 255.
[h] Plut. ibid. p. 5. Diod. lib. 4. p. 262, &c.

tracted by violent dissensions, which threatened the sovereign. The Pallantides, a powerful family of Athens,[i] saw with regret the sceptre in the hands of an old man, who, as they alleged, had neither the right nor the power to wield it. With their contempt, they openly expressed their hope of his approaching death, and their desire of participating in his spoils. The presence of Theseus disconcerted their projects; and lest Ægeus, by adopting this stranger, should find an avenger and legitimate heir, they infused into him all the motives of mistrust, of which a weak mind is susceptible: but when on the point of immolating his son, Ægeus recognised him, and made him known to his people. The Pallantides revolt; Theseus disperses them,[k] and instantly flies to the plains of Marathon, which had been for some years ravaged by a wild bull.[l] He attacked, and having conquered and bound the ferocious animal, exhibited him in triumph to the Athenians, no less astonished at the success, than terrified at the dangers of the combat.

Another event soon raised their admiration to its utmost height. Minos, king of Crete, accused them of having put to death his son Androgeus, and compelled them by force to de-

[i] Plut. t. i. p. 5
[k] Plut. ibid. p. 6. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 28. p. 70.
[l] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 262. Plut. t. i. p. 6.

liver him at stated intervals,* a certain number of youths and maidens.[m] These were to be chosen by lot, and their destiny was death or slavery. It was now the third time that the pledges of their affection were to be torn from their unhappy parents. All Athens was in tears, but Theseus revived her hopes. He undertook to free the city from this odious tribute; and, to accomplish the noble project, voluntarily enrolled himself in the number of the victims, and embarked for Crete.

The Athenians relate, that it was the cruel practice of Minos to shut up his tributary victims, the moment he received them, in a labyrinth, where they were soon after devoured by the minotaur, a monster half a man and half a bull, the offspring of the infamous amours of Pasiphaë, queen of Crete:[n] they add, that Theseus having slain the minotaur, brought back the young Athenians, and was accompanied on his return by Ariadne, daughter of Minos, who assisted him in escaping from the labyrinth, and whom he abandoned on the shores of Naxos. The Cretans, on the contrary, allege, that the Athenian hostages were destined to the victors

* Every year, according to Apollodorus, lib. 3. p. 253; every seventh year, according to Diodorus, lib. 4. p. 263; every ninth year, as Plutarch tells us, in Thes. t. i. p. 6.

[m] Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 264. Plut. ibid.

[n] Isocr. Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 127. Plut. t. i. p. 6. Apollod. lib. 3. p. 253, et alii.

in the celebrated games in honour of Androgeus; that Theseus, having obtained permission to enter the lists, overcame Taurus, general of the troops of Minos; and that this prince had the generosity to do justice to his valour, and pardon the Athenians.

The testimony of the Cretans is more conformable to the character of a prince renowned for his justice and his wisdom: the Athenian account possibly originates in their eternal hatred of the conquerors by whom they have been humbled;[o] but both these opinions equally prove, that Theseus delivered his nation from a shameful servitude; and that, by exposing his life, he merited the throne left vacant by the death of Ægeus.

Scarcely had he ascended it, than he formed the plan of setting bounds to his authority, and establishing a more regular and stable form of government.[p] The twelve cities of Attica, founded by Cecrops, were become so many republics, each of which had its particular magistrates and chiefs almost independent,[q] whose interests clashing continually, produced frequent wars: and though imminent dangers sometimes obliged them to have recourse to the protection of the sovereign, the succeeding calm soon

[o] Plut. t. i. p. 7.

[p] Demosth. in Neær. p. 873. Isocr. Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 130. Plut. in Thes. p. 10.

[q] Thucydid. lib. 2. cap. 15.

awakened their ancient jealousies. The royal authority fluctuating between despotism and degradation, alternately inspired terror or contempt; and the people, by the vice of a constitution, the nature of which was not exactly understood either by prince or subjects, had no means whatever to defend themselves against the basest slavery, or excessive licentiousness.

Theseus formed his plan; and, superior even to minute obstacles, took upon himself its execution in detail. He traversed the different districts of Attica, and endeavoured every where to insinuate himself into the favour of the people, who with ardour received a project which seemed to restore to them their primitive liberty; but the wealthier class, fearing to lose the authority they had usurped, and apprehensive of seeing a kind of equality established between all ranks of citizens, murmured at an innovation which diminished the royal prerogative: not daring, however, openly to oppose the will of a prince, who was endeavouring to obtain by persuasion what he might exact by force, they consented, but with a secret determination to protest against the measure when circumstances might be more favourable.

It was now determined that Athens should be the metropolis and centre of the state; that the senates of the cities should be abolished; that the legislative power should reside in the

general assembly of the nation, divided into three classes, the nobles, the husbandmen, and the artificers; that the first magistrates, chosen out of the former, should have the superintendence of the sacred rites, and be the interpreters of the laws; that the different orders of citizens should form a mutual balance, the first having in its favour the splendour of dignities, the second the importance of services, and the third the superiority of number.[r] It was determined, in fine, that Theseus, placed at the head of the republic, should be the defender of the laws it might enact, and the general of the troops destined for its defence.

By these dispositions, the government of Athens became essentially democratic,[s] and, harmonizing happily with the genius of the Athenians, maintained that form, notwithstanding the alterations it underwent in the time of Pisistratus.[t] Theseus instituted a solemn festival, the ceremonies of which preserve the memory of the union of the different people of Attica.[u] He erected tribunals for the magistrates; he enlarged the capital, and embellished it as far as the imperfection of the arts at that time would permit. Strangers, invited to be-

[r] Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 11.
[s] Demosth. in Neær. p. 873. Eurip. in Suppl. v. 404
[t] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 9.
[u] Thucydid lib. 2. cap. 15. Plut. t. i. p. 11. Steph. in Athen.

come citizens, flocked thither from all parts, and were incorporated with the ancient inhabitants.[x] He added the territory of Megara to the country; he placed a column on the isthmus of Corinth, as a boundary between Attica and Peloponnesus,[y] and revived, near this pillar, the Isthmian games, in imitation of those lately instituted by Hercules at Olympia.

Every thing now seemed favourable to his views: he governed a free people,[z] retained in obedience by his moderation and his bounties; he dictated laws of peace and humanity to the neighbouring nations,[a] and enjoyed a foretaste of that profound veneration with which succeeding ages gradually honour the memory of great men.

Still, however, he was not himself equal to the complete accomplishment of his glorious undertaking. He grew weary of the peaceful homage he received, and of the mild virtues which were its source. Two circumstances especially contributed to increase his disgust. His emulation, which continually watched the renowned achievements of Hercules,[b] was again excited by the new exploits with which that

[x] Plut. ibid. Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 2. Schol. ibid.
[y] Plut. ibid. Strab. lib 9. p. 392.
[z] Isocr. Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 131.
[a] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 39. p. 94. Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 14.
[b] Diodor. lib. 4. p. 262. Isocr. Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 125.

hero had signalized his return into Greece. On the other side, Pirithoüs, son of Ixion, and sovereign of part of Thessaly, either to make trial of the courage of Theseus, or to induce him to quit his tranquil course of life, conceived a project suitable to the genius of the ancient heroes. He carried off from the plains of Marathon the flocks of the king of Athens;[c] and when Theseus appeared to revenge the injury, Pirithoüs seemed struck with a secret admiration, and offering him his hand in sign of peace, "Be my judge," said he; "what satisfaction do you demand?"—"That," said Theseus, "of uniting you with me by the fellowship of arms." With these words they swore an indissoluble alliance,[d] and joined in forming plans for new and illustrious enterprises.

Hercules, Theseus, and Pirithoüs, friends and generous rivals, engaged in the same pursuit of glory, seeking only for dangers and for victory, appalling guilt, and making innocence tremble, at that time attracted the attention of all Greece. Sometimes attendant on the former, at others followed by the latter, and sometimes mingling in the crowd of heroes, Theseus was called on to share in all these illustrious adventures. He is said to have triumphed over the Amazons,

[c] Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 14.

[d] Sophocl. Œdip. Colon. v. 1664. Pausan. lib. 10. cap. 29. p. 870.

both on the banks of the Thermodon in Asia, and in the plains of Attica;[e] he was present at the chase of the enormous wild boar of Calydon, to destroy which Meleager, son of the king of that city, assembled the most courageous princes of his time;[f] he signalized himself against the Centaurs of Thessaly, those daring men, who having first accustomed themselves to fight on horseback, were better enabled to inflict or to shun the stroke of death.[g]

While engaged in so many adventures, glorious, it is true, but wholly unprofitable to his people, he associated with Pirithoüs, to carry off the princesses of Sparta and Epirus, both distinguished by a beauty which gave them immortal celebrity, but which was to each the source of fatal misfortunes:[h] the one was that Helen, whose charms eventually produced such streams of blood and tears; the other, Proserpine, daughter of Aidoneus, king of the Molossi.

They found Helen performing a dance in the temple of Diana; and tearing her from the midst of her companions, escaped by flight from the chastisement that threatened their stay in

[e] Isocr. in Panath. t. ii. p. 281. Plut. t. i. p. 12. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 2 et 41.

[f] Plut. ibid. p. 13.

[g] Isocr. in Helen. Encom. t. ii. p. 126. Herod. ap. Plut. in Thes. p. 13.

[h] Diodor. Sic. lib. 4. p. 265.

Lacedæmon, and awaited them at Epirus; for Aidoneus, apprised of their designs, delivered Pirithoüs over to be devoured by monstrous dogs, and precipitated Theseus into the horrors of a prison, from which he was delivered only by the friendly assiduity of Hercules.

Returning to his kingdom, he found his family covered with disgrace, and the city rent by factions. The queen, that Phædra whose name has so often resounded on the stage of Athens, had conceived for Hippolytus, his son by Antiope, queen of the Amazons, a passion which she herself condemned, which inspired the youthful prince with horror, and shortly terminated in the destruction of them both. At the same time the Pallantides, at the head of the principal citizens, endeavoured to seize on the sovereign power, which they accused Theseus of having enfeebled. The people had lost, in the exercise of their newly acquired authority, all love of order, and every sentiment of gratitude. To these vexations were added the arrival and complaints of Castor and Pollux, the brothers of Helen, who before they had rescued her from the custody of those to whom she had been confided by Theseus, had ravaged Attica,[1] and excited the bitterest murmurs against a king, who, sacrificing every thing to his passions, abandoned the government of his states

[1] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 73.

to roam through distant countries in search of disgraceful adventures, the shame of which he was compelled to expiate in chains.

In vain did Theseus labour to remove these fatal impressions. His absence, his achievements, his misfortunes, were imputed to him as crimes; and when he attempted to employ force, he soon found that no creature is so feeble as a sovereign degraded in the eyes of his subjects.

In this extremity, uttering the bitterest imprecations on the Athenians, he took refuge in the court of king Lycomedes, in the isle of Scyros,[k] where he soon after ended his days,* either from the consequences of an accident, or the treachery of Lycomedes,[l] who was desirous to acquire the friendship of Mnestheus, the successor of Theseus at Athens.

The actions of Theseus, and the impression they made on the minds of men during his youth, at the commencement of his reign, and at the end of his life, present to us successively the image of a hero, a king, and an adventurer; and, under these different points of view, he merited the admiration, the love, and the contempt, of the Athenians.

They have since forgotten his errors, and blushed at their revolt.[m] Cimon, son of Miltiades enjoined by the oracle, brought home his

[k] Plut. in Thes. p. 16. Heracl. de Polit. Athen.
* About the year 1305 before Christ.
[l] Pausan. lib. 1 p. 41. [m] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 265.

bones, and buried them within the walls of Athens.[n] Over his tomb a temple was erected, embellished by the arts, and become the asylum of the wretched.[o] Various monuments retrace him to our sight, or recal the memory of his reign. He is one of the genii who preside over the days of every month,[p] and one of the heroes honoured by festivals and sacrifices.[q] Athens, in fine, regards him as the first author of her power, and prides herself in the title of the city of Theseus.

The anger of the gods, which banished him from his country, had long weighed heavily on the kingdom of Thebes. Cadmus had been driven from the throne erected by himself, Polydore torn to pieces by the Bacchanalian nymphs, Labdacus prematurely carried off by death, leaving only one son in the cradle, and surrounded by enemies. Such had been, from the foundation of this kingdom, the fate of the royal family, when Laïus, the son and successor of Labdacus, after twice losing and recovering the crown, espoused Epicaste, or Jocasta, daughter of Menœceus:[r] nuptials destined to be mark-

[n] Pausan. lib. 1. p. 41. Plut. in Thes. p. 17. in Cimon. p. 483.

[o] Diod. ibid. Plut. in Thes. p. 17. Suid. et Hesych. in Thes. Schol. Aristoph. in Plut. v. 627.

[p] Plut. in Thes. p. 17. Schol. Aristoph. in Plut. v. 627.

[q] Plut. in Thes. p. 17; in Cimon. p. 483.

[r] Diod. lib. 4. p. 266. Pausan. lib. 9. cap. 5. p. 721. Euripid. in Phœniss. v. 10.

ed by the most horrible calamities. An oracle declared that the child who should be born of this marriage should be the murderer of his father, and the husband of his mother. This child was born, and condemned by the authors of his being to become the prey of wild beasts. Discovered by his cries, or by accident in a lonely place, he was presented to the queen of Corinth, who brought him up in her court under the name of Œdipus, and as her adopted son.[s]

Having attained manhood, and being informed of the dangers to which he had been exposed, he consulted the gods, and their ministers confirming by their answer the oracle which had preceded his birth,[t] he was precipitated into the calamities he endeavoured to avoid. Resolved to return no more to Corinth, which he considered as his native country, he took the road to Phocis, and in his way met, in a narrow path, an old man, who haughtily commanded him to leave the way open to him, endeavouring at the same time to compel him to obedience by force. This was Laïus. Œdipus repelled his attack, and laid him dead at his feet.[u]

After this fatal accident, the kingdom of Thebes and the hand of Jocasta were promised to the man who should deliver the Thebans from

[s] Euripid. in Phœniss. v. 30. Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 181.
[t] Apollodor. ibid. p. 183.
[u] Euripid. in Phœniss. v. 40. Diod. lib. 4. p. 266.

the evils with which they were afflicted. Sphinx, a natural daughter of Laïus, associating with a band of robbers, ravaged the plain, detained travellers by artful questions, and led them astray amongst the windings of Mount Phicion, to deliver them into the hands of her perfidious companions. Œdipus unravelled her snares, dispersed the accomplices of her crimes, and by gathering the fruit of his victory, fulfilled in all its extent the prediction of the oracle.

Incest triumphed on earth, but heaven hastened to arrest it in its course.[v] Discoveries hateful and horrid soon appalled the guilty couple. Jocasta terminated her misfortunes by a violent death. Œdipus, according to some authors, tore out his eyes,[w] and died in Attica, where Theseus had granted him an asylum. But other traditions say,[x] he was condemned to support the light of day, that he might behold those places which had been the scenes of his crimes; and to retain life, that he might communicate it to children still more guilty, and no less unfortunate than himself. These were Eteocles, Polynices, Antigone, and Ismene, whom he had by Eurygania, his second wife.[y]

[v] Homer. Odyss. lib. 11. v. 273.

[w] Sophocl. in Œdip. Colon. Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 185.

[x] Mem de l'Academ. des Bell. Lettr. t. v. Hist. p. 146. Banier. Mytholog. t. iii. p. 367.

[y] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 28. p. 69. Idem, lib. 9. cap. 5. p. 722. Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 185.

No sooner were the two princes of an age to wield the sceptre, than they confined Œdipus in the recesses of his palace, and agreed alternately to guide the reins of government during a whole year.[yy] Eteocles first ascended that throne under which the threatening abyss was still open, and refused to resign his power. Polynices repaired to the court of Adrastus, king of Argos, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and promised to assist him with powerful succours.[z]

Such was the origin of the first expedition, in which the Greeks displayed some knowledge of the military art.* Hitherto Greece had only beheld bands of men, not soldiers, suddenly over-run a neighbouring country, and retire after commiting a few hostilities and transient acts of cruelty.[a] In the war of Thebes, projects were concerted with prudence, and pursued with firmness: different nations then first associated in one and the same camp, and were united under the same general, braving with equal courage the rigour of the seasons, the tediousness of a siege, and the perils of daily combats.

Adrastus shared the command of the army

[yy] Diod. lib. 4. p. 267. Eurip. in Phœniss. v. 64. Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 185.
[z] Diodor. ibid.
* The year 1329 before Christ.
[a] Pausan lib. 9. cap. 9. p. 723.

with Polynices, whom he wished to establish on the throne of Thebes; the brave Tydeus, son of Œneus king of Ætolia; the impetuous Capaneus; Amphiaraus the soothsayer; Hippomedon, and Parthenopæus. Among the followers of these warriors, all distinguished by their birth and valour,[b] appeared, in an inferior order of merit and of dignities, the principal inhabitants of Messenia, Arcadia, and Argolis.[c]

The army having begun its march, entered the Nemean forest, where the generals instituted the games still celebrated with the greatest solemnity.[d] After passing the isthmus of Corinth, they entered Bœotia, and forced the troops of Eteocles to shut themselves up within the walls of Thebes.[e]

The Greeks were yet ignorant of the art of gaining possession of a place defended by a strong garrison. All the efforts of the besiegers were directed against the gates; all the hopes of the besieged consisted in frequent sallies. In these actions, great numbers had already fallen on both sides; already the valiant Capaneus had been precipitated from the top of a ladder which he had reared against the wall;[f] when Eteocles

[b] Diodor. lib. 4. p. 267. Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 187. Æschyl. in Sept. cont. Theb. Euripid. in Phœniss.

[c] Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 20. p. 156.

[d] Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 189. Argument. in Nem. Pind. p. 319. [e] Pausan. lib. 9. cap. 9. p. 729.

[f] Diod lib. 4. p. 263.

and Polynices resolved to decide their differences by single combat.[g] The day being appointed, the place determined, the people in tears, and the armies waiting in profound silence, the two princes rushed upon each other; and, mutually pierced with wounds, breathed forth their last, unable to satiate their vengeance. They were laid on the same funeral pile; and in order to express, by a dreadful image, their implacability, during life, it was said that the flame itself, as if animated by their hatred, divided, that their ashes might remain distinct and unmixed.

Creon, brother of Jocasta, was entrusted during the minority of Laodamus, the son of Eteocles, with the continuance of a war that every day became more fatal to the assailants, and which was terminated by a vigorous sally of the Thebans. The combat was dreadful and bloody; Tydeus and the greater part of the Argive generals perished in it. Adrastus, compelled to raised the siege, was unable to bestow funeral honours on those left on the field of battle.[h] Theseus was obliged to interpose his authority to constrain Creon to submit to the law of nations, then beginning to be introduced.[i]

[g] Apollod. lib. 3. p. 193.
[h] Diod. lib. 4. p. 268. Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 195.
[i] Isocr. in Panathen. t. ii. p. 269. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 38. p. 94. Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 14.

The victory of the Thebans only deferred their destruction. The Argive chiefs had left sons worthy of becoming their avengers. When every thing was ripe for the enterprise,* these young princes, known by the name of *Epigoni*, that is, the *Successors*, among whom appeared Diomed, son of Tydeus, and Sthenelus, son of Capaneus, entered the country of their enemies at the head of a formidable army.

A battle soon ensued, and the Thebans, having lost it, abandoned the city, which was delivered over to pillage.[k] Thersander, the son and successor of Polynices, was slain a few years after, going to the siege of Troy. After his death, two princes of the same family reigned at Thebes; but the second being suddenly seized with a dreadful phrensy, the Thebans, persuaded that the furies would never cease to pursue the blood of Œdipus while there remained a single drop of it upon the earth, placed another family on the throne. Three generations after, they adopted the republican form of government, which they still preserve.[l]

It was impossible that the repose enjoyed by Greece, after the second Theban war, should be durable. The leaders of that expedition had

* The year 1319 before Christ.

[k] Pausan. lib. 9. cap. 5. p. 722. Apollodor. lib 3. cap. 38. p. 197. Diod. lib. 4. p. 269.

[l] Pausan. lib. 9. p. 723.

returned crowned with glory, and the soldiers laden with the spoils of their enemies: both were elated with all the pride which victory inspires; and recounting to their children and their friends, eagerly thronging round them, the issue of their labours and exploits, powerfully stimulated their imaginations, and inflamed every heart with the ardent thirst of combats. An unforeseen event soon brought into action these unfortunate impressions.

On the coast of Asia, opposite to Greece, peaceably lived a prince, who numbered sovereigns only among his ancestors, and was himself at the head of a numerous family, almost entirely composed of youthful heroes. Priam reigned at Troy; and his kingdom, as well from the opulence and the courage of his people as from his connections with the kings of Assyria,[m] diffused no less splendor over this quarter of Asia than the kingdom of Mycenæ displayed in Greece.

The house of Argos, established in the latter city, acknowledged for its chief Agamemnon, son of Atreus. To his dominions he had added those of Corinth, of Sicyon, and several neighbouring cities.[n] His power, increased by that of his brother Menelaus, who had lately espoused Helen, heiress of the kingdom of Sparta, gave

[m] Plat. de Legib. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 685.
[n] Strabo. lib. 8. p. 372.

him a considerable influence in this part of Greece, which, from Pelops, his grandfather, has taken the name of Peloponnesus.

Tantalus, his great grandfather, first reigned in Lydia; and, contrary to the most sacred rights, had held in chains a Trojan prince, named Ganymede. Still more recently, Hercules, descended from the kings of Argos, had destroyed the city of Troy, put to death Laomedon, and carried off Hesione his daughter.

The memory of these injuries, still unrevenged, perpetuated between the houses of Priam and Agamemnon an hereditary and implacable hatred, inflamed from day to day by the rivalry of power, the most terrible of the destructive passions. Paris, the son of Priam, was destined to bring to maturity these latent seeds of dissension.

Paris passed into Greece, and repaired to the court of Menelaus, where the beauty of Helen attracted every eye. To the advantages of person, the Trojan prince united the desire of pleasing,[o] and a happy combination of agreeable talents. These qualities, heightened by the hope of success, made such an impression on the queen of Sparta, that she abandoned all to follow him. The sons of Atreus in vain strove to obtain, by conciliatory means, a satisfaction proportionate to the offence; Priam only saw

[o] Homer. Iliad. lib. 3. v. 39.

in his son the avenger of the wrongs his house and all Asia had suffered from the Greeks,[p] and rejected every proposal of accommodation.

On this extraordinary news, those tumultuous and furious menaces, those rumours which are the forerunners of war and death, broke forth and were heard on all sides. The nations of Greece were agitated like a forest shaken by the tempest. The kings whose power was limited to a single city, and those whose authority extended over different tribes of people, alike inspired by the spirit of heroism, assembled at Mycenæ. They swore to obey Agamemnon as their chief in the expedition, to avenge Menelaus, and reduce Ilium to ashes. Those princes who were at first unwilling to enter into the confederation were soon hurried away by the persuasive eloquence of Nestor, king of Pylos: the artful harangues of Ulysses, king of Ithaca; the example of Ajax, of Salamis; of Diomedes, of Argos; of Idomeneus, of Crete; of Achilles, son of Peleus, who reigned over a district of Thessaly; and by a multitude of youthful warriors, already intoxicated with the success of which their sanguine ardour entertained no doubt.

After long preparations, the army, consisting of about one hundred thousand men,[q] collected

[p] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 1.

[q] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 494, &c. Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 10.

together at the port of Aulis; and was conveyed by near twelve hundred sail of ships to the shores of Troas.

The city of Troy, defended by ramparts and towers, was still further protected by a numerous army,[r] commanded by Hector, son of Priam; under whom served a number of allied princes, who had joined their forces to the Trojans.[s] Assembled on the shore, they presented a formidable front to the army of the Greeks, who, after repulsing them, fortified themselves in a camp with the greatest part of their ships.

The two armies again made trial of their strength; and the doubtful success of several skirmishes evidently foretold that the siege must prove a work of time.

The Greeks with their frail vessels, and but little knowledge of the art of navigation, were unable to preserve an uninterrupted communication between Greece and Asia. The army began to want subsistence. Part of the fleet was employed in ravaging, or in sowing the islands and adjacent coasts: whilst various parties, dispersed over the country, carried off the flocks and harvests. There was yet another reason which rendered these detachments absolutely necessary. The city was not invested; and, as the troops of Priam secured it against a

[r] Homer. Iliad. lib. 8. v. 562.
[s] Id. lib. 2. v. 876; lib. 10. v. 434.

sudden assault, it was determined to harass the allies of this prince; at once to profit by their spoils, and to deprive him of their succour. Achilles ravaged the country on all sides with fire and sword.[t] After spreading universal havoc like a destructive torrent, he returned with an immense booty, which was divided among the army, and with innumerable slaves, which the chiefs distributed among themselves.

Troy was situate at the foot of Mount Ida, at some distance from the sea; the Grecian tents and ships occupied the shore; and the intermediate space was the theatre of courage and ferocity. The Trojans and the Greeks, armed with pikes, clubs, swords, arrows, and javelins; covered with helmets, cuirasses, cuisses, and bucklers; their ranks close, and their generals at their head, advanced toward each other; the former with loud shouts, the latter observing a still more dreadful silence. In an instant the leaders, become soldiers, more emulous of giving great examples than prudent counsels, rushed forward into the midst of danger, leaving it almost invariably to chance to bestow that victory they neither knew how to plan or to prosecute. The troops were thrown into confusion on the first shock, like the waves agitated by the winds in the strait of Eubœa. Night separated the com-

[t] Homer. Iliad. lib. 9. v. 328.

batants: the city on the one side, or the camp on the other, served as an asylum for the vanquished. The victory was bloody, but was far from producing any effect.

On the following days the flame of the funeral pile devoured the victims of a premature death, and their memory was honoured by tears and funeral games. The truce expired, and hostilities again commenced.

Often, in the hottest of the battle, a warrior, raising his voice, defied some chieftain of the enemy to single combat. The troops in silence beheld them sometimes hurl their javelins, and sometimes enormous stones. Frequently they closed sword in hand, and almost always mutually loaded each other with insult, to exasperate their fury. The hatred of the victor survived his triumph: if he could not mangle the body of his enemy, and deprive it of the rites of sepulture, he at least endeavoured to despoil him of his armour. But, at the same moment, the troops on each side advanced, either to snatch from him his prey, or to enable him to secure it; and thus the action became general.

It became so likewise when either of the armies was alarmed for the life of its champion, or when he himself sought safety in flight. Circumstances might justify this latter conduct; but insult and contempt for ever stigmatised the man who fled without a struggle, since he

only deserves to live who is at all times ready to brave death. Indulgence, nevertheless, was extended to him who did not retire before the superiority of his antagonist, till he had experienced his prowess; for the valour of those times consisting less in intrepidity of mind than the consciousness of strength, it was no disgrace to fly when vanquished only by necessity; but it was accounted glorious to overtake an enemy in his retreat, and to unite, to the strength that prepared the victory the swiftness which effected its decision.

Associations in arms and sentiments between two warriors never were so common as during the siege of Troy. Achilles and Patroclus, Ajax and Teucer, Diomedes and Sthenelus, Idomeneus and Merion, and a multitude of other heroes worthy to follow their steps, frequently fought by the side of each other, and, throwing themselves into the thickest of the battle, shared at once the danger and the glory. At other times, mounted on the same car, one guided the coursers, whilst the other repelled death, and drove him back upon the enemy. The death of a warrior required a speedy vengeance on the part of his companion: blood demanded blood.

This idea, powerfully impressed on their minds, steeled the Greeks and Trojans against

the numberless calamities they endured. The former had more than once been on the point of taking the city; more than once had the latter forced the camp, in despite of the palisadoes, the ditches, and walls by which it was defended. Both armies sensibly diminished, and the most illustrious warriors on each side successively fell. Hector, Sarpedon, Ajax, Achilles himself, had already bitten the dust. Such changes of fortune induced the Trojans to wish that Helen might be restored; while the Greeks sighed to revisit their native country: both however were withheld from any accommodation, by shame, and that unhappy propensity which men have to habituate themselves to every thing, except what may ensure their tranquillity and happiness.

The eyes of all nations were fixed on the plains of Troy, on those scenes to which glory loudly summoned the princes who had taken no part at the beginning of the war. Impatient to signalise themselves on a theatre open to the whole world, they arrived successively to unite their troops to those of their allies, and sometimes fell in a maiden combat.

At length, after ten years of resistance and painful labour, after having lost the flower of her youth and of her heroes, Troy fell beneath the power of her enemies; and her fall so re-

sounded through all Greece, that it still serves as a principal epoch in the annals of nations.* Her walls were levelled with the dust; her houses, her temples, reduced to ashes;—Priam expiring at the foot of the altars, his sons weltering in their blood around him; Hecuba his queen, Cassandra his daughter, Andromache the widow of Hector, and numerous other princesses, loaded with chains, and dragged like slaves through the streets streaming with human blood, and filled with the bodies of a wretched multitude, devoured by the flames, or slaughtered by the avenging sword;—such was the catastrophe of this fatal war.—The Greeks satiated their inexorable fury; but this cruel pleasure was the end of their prosperity, and the commencement of their calamities.

Their return home was rendered remarkable by the most signal reverse of fortune.[u] Mnestheus, king of Athens, ended his days in the isle of Melos.[x] Ajax, king of the Locrians, was lost with his whole fleet.[y] Ulysses, more unfortunate, had often reason to fear the same fate, during the ten whole years which he wandered over the seas. Others, still more to be lamented, were received in their families as strangers, pos-

* The year 1282 before Christ.
[u] Plat. de Legib. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 682.
[x] Euseb. Chron. Can. p. 128.
[y] Homer. Odyss. lib. 4. v. 499.

sessing claims obsolete from long absence, and whose persons an unexpected return had rendered odious. Instead of the transports which their arrival ought to have excited, they heard around them nothing but the hateful exclamations of ambition, adultery, and the most sordid interest. Betrayed by their kindred and their friends, the greater number departed under the conduct of Idomeneus, Philoctetes, Diomedes, and Teucer, to seek new connexions in unknown countries.

The house of Argos was especially distinguished by its crimes and intestine miseries. Agamemnon found his throne and bed seized on and polluted by an unworthy usurper. He was assassinated by Clytæmnestra his queen, who soon after was murdered by her son Orestes.

These horrors, then multiplied in almost every country of Greece, and still repeatedly exhibited on the stage of Athens, should be a lesson to kings and nations, and teach them to dread even victory itself. That of the Greeks was no less fatal to themselves than to the Trojans. Enfeebled by their exertions and their successes, they were no longer able to resist intestine dissensions, and became habituated to the fatal idea, that war is as necessary to a country as peace. In the course of a few generations the greater part of those royal houses, which had destroyed that of Priam, fell to decay, and became extinct;

and eighty years after the destruction of Troy,[z] a part of Peloponnesus passed into the hands of the Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules.

The revolution produced by the return of these princes was brilliant, and founded on the most specious pretexts.* Among the families which, in the remotest times, had possessed the throne of Argos and Mycenæ, the most distinguished were those of Danaus and Pelops. From the first of these princes, Prœtus, Acrisius, Perseus, and Hercules, were descended; from the second, Atreus, Agamemnon, Orestes, and his sons.

Hercules, subservient during his whole life to the will of Eurystheus, whom certain circumstances had invested with the supreme power, was unable to assert his rights, but transmitted them to his sons, who were consequently banished from Peloponnesus. They more than once attempted to return,[a] but were constantly prevented by the house of Pelops, which, after the death of Eurystheus, had usurped the crown. Their titles were crimes so long as they could be opposed by force; but no sooner did this family cease to be formidable than the attachment of the people to their ancient sovereigns was renewed in favour of the Heraclidæ, and the jea-

[z] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 12.
* In the year 1202 before Christ.
[a] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 26. Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 261.

lousy of the neighbouring powers roused against the house of Pelops. That of Hercules was headed by three brothers, Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, who, associating with the Dorians,[b] entered with them into Peloponnesus, where most of the cities were obliged to recognise them for their sovereigns.[c]

The descendents of Agamemnon driven out of Argos, and those of Nestor from Messenia, took refuge, the former in Thrace, the latter in Attica. Argos fell to the lot of Temenus, and Messenia to that of Cresphontes. Eurysthenes and Procles, the sons of Aristodemus, who died in the beginning of the expedition, reigned at Lacedæmon.[d]

Some time after, the conquerors attacked Codrus, king of Athens, who had afforded an asylum to their enemies. This prince learning that the oracle promised the victory to that army which should lose its general in the battle, voluntarily devoted himself to death—a sacrifice which so animated his troops, that they entirely defeated the Heraclidæ[e].

Here end the ages usually termed heroic; and here must we place ourselves to conceive a just

[b] Strab. lib. 9. p. 393.
[c] Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 13. p. 140.
[d] Isocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 18. Tacit. Annal. l. 4. cap. 43. Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 18. p. 151. Id. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 205. Vell. Patercul. lib. 1. cap. 2.
[e] Meurs. de Reg. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 11.

idea of the spirit of them, and enter into details which the rapid course of events has scarcely given time to indicate.

In the ancient ages all the states of Greece were monarchies;[f] at this day we see scarcely any other than republics. The first kings possessed only a single city or a district.[g] Some extended their power at the expence of their neighbours, and formed great states: their successors lost their authority while they wished to increase it to the detriment of their subjects.

Had no other colonies emigrated into Greece but that of Cecrops, the Athenians, more enlightened, and consequently more powerful, than the other savages, would have gradually brought them under subjection, and Greece would have formed only one great kingdom, which would still have subsisted, and have resembled those of Egypt and of Persia. But various tribes arriving from the East, divided it into several states; and the Greeks every where adopted the monarchical form of government, the nations which civilized them being acquainted with no other; it being more easy too to obey the commands of a single man than those of several chiefs, and the idea of at once obeying and commanding, of

[f] Plat. de Legib. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 680. Arist. de Repub. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 297. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 3. t. iii. p. 161.

[g] Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 13. Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 495, &c.

being subject and sovereign at the same time, supposing more knowledge and combination than can be expected in an infant people.

The kings exercised the functions of pontiff, general, and judge;[h] the power they transmitted to their descendants[i] was very extensive, yet tempered by a council whom they consulted, and whose decisions they communicated to the general assembly of the nation.[k]

Sometimes, after a long war, the two pretenders to the throne, or the two warriors who had been chosen, presented themselves armed; and the right of governing men depended on the strength or address of the victor.

To support the splendor of his rank, the sovereign, besides the tributes imposed upon the people,[l] possessed a domain inherited from his ancestors, which had been augmented by his conquests, and sometimes by the generosity of his friends. Theseus, banished from Athens, had no other resource but the estates left him by his father in the isle of Scyros.[m] The Ætolians, pressed by a powerful enemy, promised Meleager, son of their king Œneus, a considerable tract of land, if he would fight at their

[h] Arist. de Repub. lib. 3. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 357.
[i] Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 13.
[k] Arist. de Mor. lib. 3. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 32. Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2. t. i. p. 261.
[l] Homer. Iliad. lib. 9. v. 156. Schol. ibid. Odyss. lib. 13. v. 15.
[m] Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 16.

head.[n] The multiplicity of examples renders it impossible to enumerate all the princes who owed part of their wealth to victory or gratitude: but we must not omit remarking that they gloried in the presents they obtained; because these presents being considered as the recompence of benevolence, or the symbol of friendship, it was honourable to receive, and disgraceful not to merit them.

Nothing contributed more to add lustre to the supreme authority, and energy to courage, than the spirit of heroism; nothing harmonised more happily with the manners of the nation, which were almost every where the same. The character of the men of that day was composed of an inconsiderable number of simple but expressive and strongly marked features: art had not yet added her colouring to the work of nature. Individuals therefore must have differed from each other, and nations borne a striking resemblance.

Bodies naturally robust became still stronger by education; minds inflexible and unrefined were active and enterprising, loving or hating to excess, always hurried on by the senses, and constantly ready to break all bounds. Nature, less constrained in those who were invested with power, displayed herself with more energy in them than in the people; they revenged an

[n] Homer. Iliad. lib. 9. v. 573.

offence by violence or injustice; and showing themselves weaker in grief than in misfortune, if sensibility be a weakness, they wept over the insult they were unable to retaliate. Mild and obliging when treated with friendship and respect, impetuous and terrible when these were wanting, they suddenly passed from the excess of violence to the bitterest remorse; and repaired their faults with the same simplicity that they avowed them.[o] In a word, as they neither knew how to veil or dissemble their virtues or their vices, princes and heroes were openly inflamed with the thirst of gain, of glory, of distinction, and of pleasure.

These masculine and haughty minds were incapable of languid emotions. They were agitated at once by the two noble sentiments of love and friendship; with this difference, that love with them was a devouring and a transient flame, friendship a lively and continued warmth. Friendship produced actions considered at this day as prodigies, but formerly as no more than duties. Pylades and Orestes wishing to die for each other, only did what other heroes had done before them. Love, violent in its transports, cruel in its jealousy, was frequently attended by the most fatal consequences. Over hearts more susceptible than tender, beauty had more

[o] Homer. Iliad. lib. 4. v. 360. Id. lib. 23. passim. Id. Odyss. lib. 8. v. 402.

sway than the qualities by which it is embellished. Beauty was the ornament of the superb festivals given by princes when they contracted an alliance. There, amid kings and warriors, princesses assembled, whose presence and rivalry were a frequent source of dissensions and misfortunes.

At the nuptials of a king of Larissa, some young Thessalians, known by the name of Centaurs, insulted the companions of the youthful queen, and fell victims to the vengeance of Theseus, and several heroes, who, on that occasion, stood forth the champions of a sex which they more than once had grossly injured.[p]

The marriage of Thetis and of Peleus was disturbed by the pretensions of some princesses, who, disguised, as was the custom, under the names of Juno, Minerva, and other goddesses, were all competitors for the prize of beauty.[q]

The princes and heroes were likewise assembled by another kind of spectacle: they thronged to the funeral rites of a sovereign, and displayed their magnificence and address in games celebrated in honour of his memory. Games were exhibited over a tomb, decorum being unnecessary to grief. The delicacy that rejects all consolation is an excess or perfection in senti-

[p] Diodor. Sic. lib. 4. p. 272. Ovid. Metam. lib. 12. v. 210. Homer. Odyss. lib. 21. v. 295.

[q] Mezir. Comment. sur les Epitres d'Ovide, t. i. p. 220. Ban. Mythol. t. iii. p. 182.

ment with which they were yet unacquainted; but they well knew how to shed unfeigned tears, to suspend them at the command of Nature,[r] and again to let them flow when the heart called to mind the memory of its losses. "I sometimes shut myself up in my palace," says Menelaus in Homer,[s] "to weep for my friends who fell before the walls of Troy." Yet this was ten years after their death.

The heroes of that age were at the same time religious and unjust. When, by accident, to gratify their personal hatred, or in their own defence, they had been the cause of the death of any one, they shuddered at the blood which they had spilt; and, abandoning their throne or native land, went to implore the aid of expiation in some distant country. After the sacrifices enjoined them by this ceremony, a purifying water was poured upon the guilty hand;[t] after which they again returned into society, and prepared themselves for new combats.

The people, struck with this ceremony, were not less awed by the menacing exterior constantly assumed by their heroes. Some threw over their shoulders the spoils of the tigers and lions over which they had triumphed;[u] others appeared with massy clubs, or weapons of dif-

[r] Homer. Iliad. lib. 19. v. 229; lib. 24. v. 48.
[s] Id. Odyss. lib. 4. v. 100.
[t] Ovid. Fast. lib. 2. v. 37. Schol. Soph. in Ajac. v. 664.
[u] Plut. in Thes. p. 4. Numism. Veter.

ferent kinds, wrested from the robbers from whom they had delivered Greece.[x]

Thus habited, they presented themselves to claim the rights of hospitality, rights at present circumscribed within certain families, but then common to all.[y] At the voice of the stranger every door flew open, every attention was lavished; and while offering the noblest homage to humanity, no inquiries were made respecting rank or birth till they had anticipated every wish of their guest.[z] Not to their legislators were the Greeks indebted for this sublime institution; they owed it to Nature, whose vivid and penetrating light filled the heart of man, and is not yet entirely extinct, since our first moral sensation is an emotion of esteem and confidence for our fellow-creatures, and since distrust would be considered as an enormous vice, did not the experience of repeated perfidy render it almost a virtue.

Yet these ages, though rendered illustrious by actions which do honour to humanity, were also sullied by the most atrocious and unheard-of crimes. Some of these have no doubt really been committed; they were the fruits of ambition and vengeance, ungovernable passions,

[x] Plut. in Thes. p. 4. Numism. Veter.

[y] Homer. Iliad. lib. 6. v. 15. Id. Odyss. lib. 3. v. 34; lib. 5. v. 208; lib. 8. v. 544.

[z] Homer. Iliad. lib. 6. v. 173. Id. Odyss. lib. 1. v. 124; lib. 3. v. 70.

which, according to the difference of times and circumstances, employed to attain their ends sometimes the artifices of cunning and sometimes open force. The rest owe their origin only to poetry, which, in its paintings, disguises the events of history as it does the operations of Nature. The poets, masters of our hearts, and slaves of their own imagination, have brought on the stage the principal heroes of antiquity, and, from a few facts which have escaped the destruction of time, have pourtrayed characters which they vary or contrast at pleasure.[a] Sometimes, depicting them in hideous colours, they transform frailties into crimes, and crimes into atrocious enormities. We detest that Medea, whom Jason brought from Colchis, and whose whole life, it is said, was one continued scene of horrors; yet was she perhaps acquainted with no other magic than her charms, and guilty of no other crime than love.[b] Perhaps, likewise, the greater part of those princes, whose memory is at present covered with opprobrium, were not more culpable than Medea.

Those remote ages were not the reign of barbarism, but rather of a certain violence of character, which, by acting without disguise,

[a] Plat. in Min. t. ii. p. 320.
[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 249. Parmenisc. ap. Schol. Eurip. in Med. v. 9. et 273. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 21. Banier. Mythol. lib. 3. cap. 5. t. iii. p. 259.

frequently defeated itself. Yet was it at least possible to guard against the hatred which manifested itself by rage; but how much more difficult is it at present to defend ourselves against that deliberate cruelty and cool rancour which patiently wait the moment of revenge! The age really barbarous, is not that in which there is most impetuosity of passion, but that which most abounds in duplicity of sentiment.

Neither rank nor sex afforded exemptions from domestic cares, which cease to be humiliating when they are common to all conditions. Sometimes they were associated with agreeable talents, such as music and dancing; and still more frequently with tumultuous pleasures, as the chase, and exercises which conduce to preserve and increase bodily strength.

The laws were few in number and very simple: for it was less requisite to provide for cases of injustice than of insult; and more necessary to curb the passions in their impetuosity, than to pursue vice through all its mazes.

The great truths of morality, first discovered by that admirable instinct which prompts man to good, were soon rendered evident by their manifest utility in practice. The motives and recompence then held forth for virtue were not so much the conscious satisfaction of the mind, as the favour of the gods, the public esteem,

and the opinion of posterity.[c] Reason had not yet turned inwardly on herself to examine the nature of moral duties, and subject them to that analysis which sometimes tends to confirm and sometimes to overthrow them. It was only generally admitted, that in all the occurrences of life it is advantageous to render to every man his due; and obeying this answer of the heart, honest men resigned themselves to the dictates of virtue, without regretting any of the sacrifices it requires.

Knowledge was of two kinds: tradition of which the poets were the interpreters, and the experience acquired by the aged. Tradition preserved some traces of the history of the gods, and of that of men. Hence the respect paid to poets, who were employed to recount these interesting events at banquets, and on all solemn occasions; to adorn them with the charms of music, and to embellish them by fictions which flattered the vanity of nations and of sovereigns.[d]

The wisdom of the old men supplied the tardy experience of ages,[e] and, by reducing examples into principles, made known the effects of the passions, and the means of bringing them under controul. Hence originated that esteem for

[c] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 119. Id. Odyss. lib. 2. v. 64.
[d] Id. Odyss. lib. 1. v. 152 et 338.
[e] Homer. Iliad. lib. 1. v. 259; lib. 3. v. 108; lib. 9. v. 60.

age which assigned it the first rank in the assemblies of the nation, and scarcely granted youth the permission to interrogate it.[f]

The extreme vivacity of the passions gave an inestimable value to prudence, as did the necessity of instruction to the talent of eloquence.

Of all the powers of the mind, imagination was first cultivated, because this is the faculty which manifests itself earliest in the infancy of men and nations; and it was more especially nurtured and expanded among the Greeks from the climate they inhabited, and the connections they contracted with the people of the East.

In Egypt, where the sun darts his ever burning rays, where the winds, the inundations of the Nile, and other phænomena, are subject to a constant order, where the stability and uniformity of Nature seem to evince its eternity, every object was aggrandized by the imagination, which, expanding itself on all sides into infinity, necessarily inspired astonishment and awe.

In Greece, where the sky, sometimes troubled by storms, almost incessantly sparkles with a pure light; where the diversity of aspects and seasons continually presents the eye with striking contrasts; where Nature at every step, at every instant, appears in action, and perpetu-

[f] Homer. Iliad. lib. 23. v. 587. Id. Odyss. lib. 3. v. 24.

ally varying; the imagination, richer and more active than in Egypt, bestowed new embellishments on every object, and diffused a mild and genial warmth through all the operations of the mind.

Thus the Greeks, forsaking their forests, no longer beheld objects under a terrific and gloomy veil; and thus the Egyptians, transplanted into Greece, gradually softened the severe, and bold outlines of their pictures. Intermingling with each other, and constituting but one and the same people, they formed a language brilliant in figurative expressions; they exhibited their ancient opinions in colours which diminished their simplicity, but rendered them more captivating; and as all beings capable of motion seemed to them full of life, and they referred to so many particular causes the phænomena to the nature of which they were strangers, the universe in their eyes was a magnificent machine, the springs of which were acted on at will by an infinite number of invisible agents.

This was the origin of that philosophy, or rather that religion, which still subsists among the people; a confused mixture of truths and falsehoods, of venerable traditions and agreeable fictions; a system that flatters the senses, and offends the understanding; which breathes only pleasure, while it teaches and applauds

virtue; and of which it may be proper to trace a slight sketch, as it strongly marks the character of the age that gave it birth.

What power called forth the universe from chaos? The infinite Being, the pure light, the source of life.[g] Let us give it the most amiable of its titles; it is love itself; that love whose presence restores harmony to all things,[h] and from whom both men and gods derive their origin.[i]

These intelligent beings disputed the empire of the world; but overthrown in tremendous conflicts, men were for ever subjected to their vanquishers.

The race of immortals multiplied like that of men. Saturn, issuing from the commerce of Heaven and Earth, had three sons, who divided the sovereignty of the universe. Jupiter reigns in heaven, Neptune over the sea, Pluto in the infernal regions, and all three over the earth;[k] all three are surrounded by a multitude of deities, intrusted with the execution of their commands.

Jupiter is the most powerful of the gods, for he hurls the thunder: his court is the most splendid of all; it is the abode of eternal light, and must be the seat of happiness, since every earthly good proceeds from heaven.

[g] Orph. ap. Bruck. Hist. Philos. t. i. p. 390.
[h] Hesiod. Theog. v. 120. [i] Aristoph. in. Av. v. 700.
[k] Homer. Iliad. lib. 15. v. 193.

The divinities of the ocean and of the infernal shades are implored in certain places and under certain circumstances; the celestial gods every where, and at every moment of life. They surpass the others in power, for they dwell above us; whilst the former are either beside us or beneath our feet.

The gods dispense to men life, health, riches, wisdom and valour.[l] We accuse them as the authors of our sufferings;[m] they reproach us with being wretched from our own faults.[n] Pluto is odious to mortals,[o] because he is inflexible. The other gods permit themselves to be moved by our prayers, and especially by our sacrifices, the odour of which is to them a delicious perfume.[p]

If they have senses like ourselves, they must have the same passions. Beauty makes on them the same impression as on us. We have often seen them seeking on earth for pleasures, rendered more poignant by their forgetting for a time their exalted nature, and assuming the veil of mystery.

By this extravagant combination of ideas, the Greeks had no intention to degrade the divinities they adored. Accustomed as they were

[l] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 197; lib. 7. v. 288; lib. 13. v. 730.
[m] Id. Iliad. lib. 3. v. 164; lib. 6. v. 349.
[n] Id. Odyss. lib. 1. v. 33. [o] Id. Iliad. lib. 9 v. 158.
[p] Id. Ibid. lib. 4. v. 48; lib. 24. v. 425.

to judge of all animated beings by themselves, they ascribed their weaknesses to the gods, and their sentiments to animals, without imagining that they debased the former or elevated the latter.

When they wished to form an idea of the happiness of heaven, and the attention paid by the immortals to the government of the universe, they cast their eyes around them, and said:

On earth, nations are happy when they pass their days in festivals; a sovereign, when he assembles at his table the princes and princesses who reign over the adjacent countries; when youthful slaves, perfumed with essences, pour out wine in overflowing goblets, and skilful singers harmoniously accord their voices with the lyre;[q] thus, in the frequent banquets of the inhabitants of heaven, Youth and Beauty, in the person of Hebe, distribute nectar and ambrosia; the vaulted roofs of Olympus re-echo with the songs of Apollo and the Muses, and joy sparkles in every eye.

Sometimes Jupiter assembles the immortals around his throne; and deliberates with them on the affairs of earth, as a sovereign discusses those of his states with the nobles of his kingdom. The gods, deliver their different opinions, which they support with warmth, till Jupiter

[q] Homer. Odyss. lib. 1. v. 152; lib. 9. v. 5. Arist de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 451.

pronounces his final decision, and the rest submit in silence.

The gods invested with his authority communicate motion to the universe, and are the authors of the phænomena which astonish mortals.

Every morning a youthful goddess opens the gates of the East, and diffuses a refreshing coolness through the air, while she scatters flowers over the fields, and strews rubies in the path of the Sun. At this signal the Earth awakes, and prepares to receive the god, who daily bestows on her new life. He appears, with a magnificence and splendor suited to the sovereign of the skies; his car, conducted by the Hours, flies and penetrates the immensity of space, filling it with radiance and genial warmth. No sooner does he reach the palace of the sovereign of the seas, than Night, who closely and incessantly follows him, extends her gloomy veil, and hangs the celestial dome with innumerable fires. Then rises another car, whose mild and consoling light invites susceptible hearts to meditation. It is conducted by a goddess. She is coming in silence to receive the tender homage of Endymion. That arch which shines with such rich colours, and extends from one side of the horizon to the other, is formed by the luminous footsteps of Iris, who is bearing the commands of Juno to the earth. Delightful breezes and horrid tempests are caused by

genii now sporting in the air, now struggling with each other, to produce a commotion in the waves. At the foot of yonder eminence is a grotto, the asylum of coolness and of peace. There a beneficent nymph pours forth from her inexhaustible urn the stream that fertilizes the adjacent plain; there she listens to the vows of the youthful beauty, who comes to contemplate her charms in the fleeting waters. If we enter that gloomy wood, it is neither the silence nor the solitude that occupies the mind: we are in the haunts of the Dryads and the Sylvans, and the secret awe we feel is the effect of the divine majesty.

To whatever side we turn our steps, we are in the presence of the gods; we discover them within us and without; they have divided the empire of our souls, and direct our inclinations. Some preside over war and the arts of peace; others inspire the love of wisdom or of pleasure; all of them cherish justice and protect virtue. Thirty thousand divinities, dispersed around us, continually watch over our thoughts and actions.[r] When we act justly, heaven prolongs our days and increases our happiness, but punishes us when we do evil.[s] On the commission of crimes, Nemesis and the black Furies issue, with horrid roarings, from the depths of

[r] Hesiod. Oper. v. 250.
[s] Hom. Odyss. lib. 13. v. 214.

hell; and gliding into the heart of the guilty mortal, torment him day and night by piercing and funeral shrieks. These shrieks are the remorse of conscience.[t] If the wicked man before his death neglects to appease the avenging powers by holy ceremonies, the Furies, adhering to his soul as to their prey, drag it into the gulfs of Tartarus. For the Greeks universally believed the immortality of the soul. The following was their doctrine, derived from the Egyptians concerning that substance of which we know so little.

The spiritual soul, that is, the mind or intellectual faculty, is enveloped in a sensitive soul, which is only a luminous and subtle species of matter, the faithful image of the body, on which it is moulded, and whose resemblance and dimensions it for ever continues to retain. These two souls are strictly united during life, but are separated by death;[u] and whilst the spiritual soul ascends to heaven, the other takes its flight, under the conduct of Mercury, to the extremities of the earth, where are the infernal regions, the throne of Pluto, and the tribunal of Minos. Abandoned by the whole world, and with nothing on which to rely for support but its good actions, the soul appears before this

[t] Cicer. de Leg. lib. 1. cap. 14. t. iii. p. 127.

[u] Hom. Odys. lib. 11. v. 217. Notes of madame Dacier, on the 10th and 11th books of the Odyssey.

dread tribunal, hears its sentence, and is admittted to the Elysian fields, or plunged into Tartarus.

The Greeks, who had founded the happiness of their gods only on sensual enjoyments, were unable to imagine any other delights for the Elysian fields but a delicious temperature, and a profound yet uniform tranquillity: feeble advantages, which did not prevent virtuous souls from sighing for the light of day, and regretting their passions and their pleasures.

Tartarus is the abode of lamentation and despair; the guilty are there consigned to dreadful torments; their entrails are gnawed by cruel vultures; they are whirled round upon the axles of burning wheels. There Tantalus every moment expires with hunger and with thirst, in the midst of a refreshing stream, and beneath trees laden with fruit: there the daughters of Danaus are condemned to fill a vessel, from which the water is continually escaping; and Sisyphus to fix upon the summit of a mountain a rock he toils to roll up, and which immediately falls back of itself when he is on the point of accomplishing his task. Insupportable wants, ever aggravated by the presence of the objects fitted to gratify them: labours perpetually the same, and for ever unsuccessful. What punishments! The imagination that invented them had exhausted the utmost refinements of cruelty to

provide chastisements for guilt; whilst it offered no other recompence to virtue but an imperfect felicity, and that too poisoned by regret. Was it believed more salutary to guide men by the fear of punishments than by the allurements of pleasure? or rather, was it easier to multiply the images of misery than those of happiness?

This rude system of religion taught a small number of dogmas essential to the tranquillity of society; the existence of the gods, the immortality of the soul, rewards for virtue, punishments for vice. It prescribed ceremonies which might contribute to maintain these truths, in its festivals and mysteries; it presented civil government with powerful means by which to profit of the ignorance and credulity of the people, in its oracles, and the arts of augury and divination; it left every man, in fine, at liberty to adopt such ancient traditions as he thought proper, and continually to load with new inventions the history and genealogy of the gods; so that the imagination, free to create facts, and to vary by prodigies those which were already known, never ceased to embellish its details by the marvellous, that ornament so frigid in the eye of reason, but so full of charms for youthful minds and infant nations. The narrative of the traveller to his admiring hosts, of the father of a family to his listening children, of the bard admitted to the

entertainments of princes, were wrought up in the intrigue, and conducted to the catastrophe by the intervention of the gods; and the system of religion insensibly became a system of poetry and fiction.

At the same time, the erroneous ideas, which prevailed respecting natural philosophy enriched language with a multitude of images. The habit of confounding motion with life, and life with sentiment; the facility of connecting certain relations subsisting between objects, made men in conversation attribute to the most insensible beings a soul, or properties wholly foreign from their nature. The sword was said to thirst after the blood of the enemy; the dart to fly impatient to destroy. Wings were ascribed to every thing that cleaves the air, to lightning, to the winds, to arrows, to the sound of the voice. Aurora had rosy fingers, the sun golden tresses, and Thetis silver feet. Such metaphors were admired, especially for their novelty; and the language of Greece, like that of all nations in their infancy, became poetical.

Such was nearly the progress of the human mind among the Greeks, when Codrus sacrificed his life for the safety of his country.[x] The Athenians, struck with this magnanimous action, abolished the regal title; they affirmed that Codrus had raised it so high that it must be

[x] Meurs. de Regib. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 11.

henceforth beyond the desert of mortals: they adopted Jupiter, therefore, for their sovereign;[y] and placing Medon, the son of Codrus, by the side of the throne, they named him archon, or perpetual chief,* requiring him, nevertheless, to render an account of his administration to the people.[z]

The brothers of this prince had opposed his election;[a] but on seeing it confirmed by the oracle, rather than cherish a principle of intestine divisions in their country, they abandoned it to seek a happier fortune in distant lands.

Attica and the countries which surround it were at this time overstocked with inhabitants: The conquests of the Heraclidæ had occasioned a reflux into this part of Greece of the whole nation of the Iönians, who formerly occupied twelve cities in Peloponnesus.[b] These foreigners, becoming burthensome to the places that served them as an asylum, and being still too near to those they had quitted, wished for a change which should make them forget their misfortunes. The sons of Codrus pointed out to them beyond the seas the rich plains in the extremity of Asia, opposite to Europe, part of

[y] Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 2.
* The year 1092 before Christ.
[z] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 292.
[a] Ibid. lib. 7. cap. 2. p. 523. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 5. Velleius Patercul. lib. 1. cap. 2.
[b] Herodot. lib 1. cap. 145. Strab. lib. 8. p. 383.

which were already occupied by those Æolians whom the Heraclidæ had formerly driven out of Peloponnesus.[c] On the confines of Æolia was a fertile country, situate in a delightful climate, and inhabited by barbarians whom the Greeks began to despise. The sons of Codrus, proposing this as the object of their expedition were followed by a great number of adventurers of all ages and countries.[d] The barbarians made but a feeble resistance; and the colony soon found itself in possession of as many cities as it had held in Peloponnesus; and these cities, among which Miletus and Ephesus were conspicuous, by their union composed the Iönic body.[e]

Medon transmitted to his descendants the dignity of archon: but as that office began to give some umbrage to the Athenians, they at length limited its duration to ten years;* and their alarms increasing with their precautions, they finally divided it among nine annual magistrates,† who still bear the title of archons.[f]

These are all the changes which the history

[c] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 149. Strab. lib. 13. p. 582.
[d] Pausan. lib. 7. cap. 2. p. 524.
[e] Herod. lib. 1. cap. 142. Strab. lib. 14. p. 633. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 5.
* The year 752 before Christ.
† The year 684 before Christ.
[f] Meurs. de Archont. lib. 1. cap. 1, &c. Corsin. Fast. Att. dissert. 1.

of Athens presents us, from the death of Codrus to the first Olympiad, during a period of three hundred and sixteen years. These ages, from all appearances, were ages of happiness; for the calamities of nations are never erased from their traditions. We cannot insist too strongly on a reflection so afflicting for humanity. In this long interval of peace Attica undoubtedly produced noble and generous men, devoted to the welfare of their country, and sages who, by superiority of understanding, maintained harmony in all the orders of the state. They are forgotten, for they had only virtues. Had torrents of blood and tears flowed at their command, their names would have triumphed over time; and, in default of historians, the monuments consecrated to their memory would still speak for them in the midst of the public places. Must we then destroy men to merit altars?

Whilst Attica enjoyed this state of tranquillity, the other nations of Greece were disturbed only by slight and momentary concussions: ages glided on in silence, or rather were filled by three of the greatest men who ever have existed; Homer, Lycurgus, and Aristomenes. With the two latter we become acquainted at Lacedæmon and in Messenia; but every age and place has resounded with the fame of Homer.

Homer flourished about four centuries after

the Trojan war*. In his time poetry was greatly cultivated among the Greeks: the source of those fictions, which constitute its essence or its ornament, became every day more copious; language sparkled with imagery, and by its irregularity was better adapted to the wishes of the poet.† Two remarkable events, the Theban and the Trojan war, furnished genius with noble subjects. Bards, with their lyres in hand, everywhere sang to the admiring Greeks the exploits of their ancient warriors.

Orpheus, Linus, Musæus, and a number of other poets,[g] whose works are lost—a circumstance to which they are perhaps indebted for a great share of their celebrity—had already made their appearance:—already Hesiod, who is said to have rivalled Homer, had entered the career, and in a soft and harmonious style[h] sung the genealogy of the gods, rural labours, and other subjects rendered interesting by his genius.

Homer, therefore, found an art, which for some time had been in its infancy, and the progress of which was daily quickened by emulation. He took it up while thus expanding, and carried it to such a height that he appeared its creator.

* Towards the year 900 before Christ.

† See note I. at the end of the volume.

[g] Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i.

[h] Dionys. Halicar. de Compos. Verb. sect. 23. t. v. p. 173. Id. de Vet. Script. Cens. t. v. p. 419. Quintil. Instit. Orat. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 629.

He is said to have sung the war of Thebes.[i] He composed several works which would have placed him on a level with the first poets of his time; but the Iliad and Odyssey raise him above all before or after him.

In the former of these poems, he has described some events of the Trojan war; and in the second, the return of Ulysses to his country.

During the siege of Troy, an event had occurred which fixed the attention of Homer. Achilles, insulted by Agamemnon, withdrew to his camp: his absence enfeebled the Grecian army, and re-animated the courage of the Trojans, who, sallying from their walls, attacked their enemies, and were almost always victors in frequent combats: already were they spreading flames amid the ships of the Greeks, when Patroclus appeared, clad in the armour of Achilles. Hector attacks him, and he falls; Achilles, who had remained inflexible to all the intreaties of the chiefs of the army, flies again to the field, avenges the death of Patroclus by that of the Trojan general, orders the funeral obsequies of his friend, and, for a ransom, restores to the unhappy Priam the body of his son Hector.

These events, happening in the space of a very few days,[k] were the consequence of the anger of Achilles against Agamemnon, and formed, in the history of the siege, an episode,

[i] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 32. Pausan. lib. 9. cap. 9. p. 729.
[k] Du Poëme Epique par Bossu, liv. ii. p. 269.

which might easily be detached, and which Homer chose for the subject of his Iliad. In treating it he has observed the historical order; but, to give greater lustre to his subject, has imagined, according to the received system of the age, that from the beginning of the war the gods had been divided between the Greeks and Trojans, and, to render his poem more interesting, has introduced all his characters in action—an artifice perhaps unknown before his time, which has given birth to the drama,[1] and which he again employed in the Odyssey with the same success.

More art and knowledge are displayed in the latter poem. Ten years had elapsed since Ulysses had left the shores of Ilium. Unjust plunderers were dissipating his property; they were endeavouring to compel his disconsolate wife to contract a second marriage, and to fix a choice which it was no longer in her power to defer. At this moment the scene of the Odyssey opens. Telemachus, the son of Ulysses, repairs to the continent of Greece, to enquire of Nestor and Menelaus respecting the fate of his father. Whilst he is at Lacedæmon, Ulysses departs from the island of Calypso, and, after a perilous voyage, is cast away in a tempest on the isle of

[1] Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 152. Id. de Repub. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 598 et 607. Arist. de Poet. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 655.

the Phæacians, contiguous to Ithaca. In an age when commerce had not yet formed connexions between different countries, the inhabitants thronged round a stranger to hear the narrative of his adventures. Ulysses, pressed to satisfy a court in which ignorance and a taste for the marvellous were excessive, recounts the prodigies he has beheld, moves their pity by the recital of his sufferings, and obtains succours to return into his dominions. He arrives, discovers himself to his son, and concerts with him efficacious measures to revenge themselves of their common enemies.

The action of the Odyssey lasts but forty days;[m] but, by means of the plan he has adopted, Homer has found the secret of describing all the circumstances of the return of Ulysses; of relating many particulars of the siege of Troy; and displaying the knowledge he had himself acquired in his travels. He appears to have composed this work in an advanced age: some have imagined they discovered this in the multiplicity of his narrations, as also in the mild and tranquil character of the principal personages, and a certain gentle warmth resembling that of the setting sun.[n]

Though it was certainly the object of Homer

[m] Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, t. ii. p. 389.
[n] Longin. de Subl. cap. 9.

to please more especially the age in which he lived, the moral of the Iliad clearly is, that nations are always sacrificed to the divisions of their leaders; and that of the Odyssey, that prudence, united with courage, triumphs, sooner or later, over the greatest obstacles.

The Iliad and Odyssey were scarcely known in Greece, when Lycurgus appeared in Iönia.[o] The genius of the poet spoke instantly to the genius of the legislator. Lycurgus discovered lessons of wisdom, where ordinary men saw nothing but pleasing fictions.[p] He copied the two poems, and with them enriched his country; from whence they were communicated to all the Greeks. Actors appeared, known by the name of rhapsodists,[q] who detaching select passages, travelled over Greece, and were listened to with rapture. One sang the valour of Diomede; another the farewell of Andromache; and others the death of Patroclus and Hector.[r]

The reputation of Homer seemed to increase with the division and distribution of his verses; but the texture of his poems was insensibly destroyed; and as their parts, from being too much separated, were in danger of losing their con-

[o] Allat. de Patr. Homer. cap. 5.
[p] Plut. in Lyc. t. i. p. 41.
[q] Schol. Pind. in Nem. od. 2. v. 1.
[r] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 13. cap. 14. Allat. de Patr. Homer. cap. 5.

nexion with the whole, Solon prohibited several rhapsodists, when assembled, from taking at random detached passages from the writings of Homer; ordaining that in their recitals they should follow the order observed by the author, so that one should take up the subject where the others had ended.[s]

This regulation provided against one danger, but suffered another of still greater consequence to subsist. The poems of Homer, abandoned to the enthusiasm and ignorance of those by whom they were publicly sung or commented on, daily underwent new corruptions in the recital; they suffered considerable losses, and were loaded with interpolations. Pisistratus, and his son Hipparchus,[t] undertook to restore the text to its original purity; they consulted skilful grammarians, offered rewards to every person who should produce any authentic fragment of the Iliad and Odyssey, and, after a long and arduous labour, gave complete copies of these two noble poems to the admiring Greeks, equally astonished at the ingenuity of their plans and the beauties of their execution. Hipparchus likewise ordered that the verses of Homer should be sung at the festival of the

[s] Laërt. in Solon. lib. 1. § 57.

[t] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 34. t. i. p. 312. Pausan. lib. 7. cap. 26. p. 594. Meurs. in Pisistrat. cap. 9 et 12. Allat. de Patr. Homer. cap. 5.

Panathenæa, in the order prescribed by the law of Solon.[u]

Posterity, which cannot estimate the glory of kings and heroes by their actions, hears as it were from far the resounding fame of their immortal deeds, and re-echoes it with louder note to succeeding times. But the reputation of an author, whose writings still subsist, must be the result of the successive judgments which consecutive ages have pronounced in his favour. The glory of Homer, it is to be remembered, has increased in proportion as his works have become better known, and his readers more capable of appreciating their real worth. The Greeks have never been so learned and polite as they are at this day, and never were they impressed with so profound an admiration for that poet. His name is in every mouth, and his portrait before every eye. Several cities dispute the honour of having given him birth;[x] others have dedicated temples to him.[y] The Argives, who invoke him in their holy ceremonies, send an annual sacrifice into the isle of Chios in his honour.[z] His verses resound through all Greece, and are the brightest orna-

[u] Plat. in Hipparc. t. ii. p. 228. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 2. not. Periz. ibid. Lycurg. in Leocr. p. 161.

[x] Aul. Gell. lib. 3. cap. 11. Strab. lib. 14. p. 645. Pausan. lib. 10. cap. 24.

[y] Strab. lib. 14. p. 646.

[z] Certam. Homer. et Hesiod.

ment of her splendid festivals. In them youth finds its first instructions:[a] from them Æschylus,[b] Sophocles,[c] Archilochus, Herodotus, Demosthenes,[d] Plato,[e] and the most esteemed authors, have drawn the greater part of the beauties that abound in their writings; and by them the sculptor Phidias,[f] and the painter Euphranor,[g] were taught worthily to represent the awful majesty of the sovereign of the gods.

How wondrous then is this man, who instructs legislators in the science of politics; who teaches philosophers and historians the art of writing, and poets and orators that of moving the passions; who discloses and expands every talent,[h] and whose superiority is so universally acknowledged, that we are no more jealous of his pre-eminence than of the sun by which we are enlightened!

I am aware that Homer must more especially interest his own nation. The principal families of Greece think they discover in his works

[a] Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 1. p. 145. Id. in lib. 2. p. 263.
[b] Athen. lib. 8. cap. 8. p. 347.
[c] Valken. Diatr. in Eurip. Hippol. p. 92.
[d] Longin. de Sublim. cap. 13. Dionys. Halicar. Epist. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 772.
[e] Panæt. ap. Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 1. cap. 32. t. ii. p. 260.
[f] Strab. lib. 8. p. 354. Plut. in Æmil. t. i. p. 270. Val. Max. lib. 3. cap. 7. extern. N° 4.
[g] Eustath. ad Iliad. lib. 1. p. 145.
[h] Dionys. Halic. de Compos. Verb. t. v. cap. 16. p. 97. Id. ibid. cap. 24. p. 187. Quintil. Instit. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 628.

the titles of their origin; and the different states the epoch of their greatness. Frequently his testimony has even sufficed to determine the ancient limits of two neighbouring nations.[i] But this merit, which he might possess in common with many authors now consigned to oblivion, never could produce the enthusiasm excited by his poems; many other springs must have operated to obtain him among the Greeks the empire of the mind.

I am but a Scythian; and the harmony of Homer's verses, that harmony which transports the enraptured Greeks, frequently escapes my unpolished organs: but I am no longer master of my admiration, when I see this lofty genius hovering, if I may so speak, over the universe; darting on every side his ardent glances, and collecting those flames and colours with which all objects sparkle in his sight; entering the council of the gods; fathoming the recesses of the human heart; and quickly, rich with his discoveries, intoxicated with the beauties of nature, and, no longer able to support the ardour that consumes him, distributing it with profusion in his descriptions and expressions, making heaven contend with earth, and the passions strive for mastery with each other; dazzling us by those strokes of light which appertain only to superior talents; hurrying us

[i] Eustath. in Homer. t. ii. p. 263.

away by those sallies of sentiment that constitute the true sublime, and ever leaving a profound impression which seems to expand and ennoble the soul. For what above all distinguishes Homer, is the power of animating every thing,[k] and of perpetually communicating to us the emotions with which he is himself agitated; it is the skill with which he renders every other subordinate to the leading passion; following it through all its transports, its extravagances, and incongruities; elevating it to the clouds, and again precipitating it, when necessary, from its height, by the force of sentiment and virtue, as the flames of Ætna are dashed by the wind to the bottom of the abyss: it is the felicity with which he has seized great characters, the skill with which he has diversified the power, the bravery, and other qualities of his personages, not by cold and fastidious descriptions, but by rapid and vigorous strokes of the pencil, or by novel fictions scattered as it were fortuitously through his works. I mount with him into the heavens: I discover Venus in all her beauty, by that girdle incessantly emitting the fires of love, impatient desire, seductive graces, and the inexpressible charms of language and the eyes.[l] I recognize Pallas and her furies, by that ægis on which are

[k] Arist. de Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 595.
[l] Homer. Iliad. lib. 14. v. 215.

suspended terror, discord, violence, and the tremendous head of the horrid gorgon.[m] Jupiter and Neptune are the most powerful of the gods; but Neptune must have a trident to shake the earth;[n] and Jupiter with his nod make Olympus tremble.[o] I descend to earth: Achilles, Ajax, and Diomedes, are the most formidable of the Greeks; but Diomedes retires at the sight of the Trojan army;[p] Ajax does not give way till he has several times repulsed it;[q] Achilles shows himself, and it disappears.[r]

These differences are not contrasted in the sacred books of the Greeks, for so the Iliad and Odyssey may be termed. The poet had given a solid basis to his models; he detached at pleasure those discriminating shades, and had them present before his mind, at the very instant he was bestowing on his character some momentary variations; for, in fact, art alone attributes a constant unity to characters, nature produces none which do not occasionally differ from themselves in the various occurrences of life.

Plato did not find sufficient dignity in the grief of Achilles, nor in that of Priam, when the

[m] Homer. Iliad. lib. 5. v. 738.
[n] Id. Odyss. lib. 4. v. 506.
[o] Id. Iliad. lib. 1. v. 530.
[p] Id. ibid. lib. 5. v. 605.
[q] Id. ibid. lib. 11. v. 565.
[r] Id. ibid. lib. 18. v. 228.

former rolls himself in the dust after the death of Patroclus, and when the latter has recourse to a humiliating action to obtain the dead body of a son.[s] But how strange is that dignity which stifles the feelings of nature! For my part, I commend Homer for having, like nature, placed weakness by the side of strength, and the abyss by the side of elevation. I commend him still more for having shown me the best of fathers in the most powerful of kings, and the tenderest of friends in the most impetuous of heroes.

I have known the poet blamed for the insolent and abusive language which he puts into the mouth of his heroes, both in their assemblies and in the heat of battle: I then cast my eyes on children, who approach much nearer to nature than ourselves, on the vulgar, always in a state of childhood, on savages, who are always the vulgar; and have observed in all these, that their anger constantly expresses itself in insolence and outrage, previous to producing any other effect.

I have heard Homer censured for having painted in all their simplicity the manners of the times that preceded him;—I smiled at the criticism, and was silent.

But when it is alleged against him as a crime,

[s] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 388.

that he has degraded the gods, I content myself with relating the answer given me one day by an intelligent Athenian. Homer, said he, ascribed to the gods the infirmities of men, according to the poetical system of his time.[t] Aristophanes has since exhibited them on our theatre,[u] and our fathers applauded that licence. The most ancient theologians have said that men and gods had one common origin;[x] and almost in our own days Pindar has held the same language.[y] It was never imagined, then, that these gods could be substitutes for the idea we entertain of the divinity; and, in fact, genuine philosophy admits a Supreme Being superior to them, who has delegated to them his power. It is that Being whom men of understanding adore in secret. The multitude address their prayers, and sometimes their complaints, to those who represent him; and poets in general are like the subjects of the king of Persia, who prostrate themselves before the sovereign, and inveigh against his ministers.

Let those who are unmoved by the beauties of Homer dwell on these defects. For why dissemble the truth? He frequently reposes, and sometimes slumbers; but his is the repose

t Arist. de Poet. cap. 25. t. ii. p. 673.

u Aristoph. in Nub. v. 617; in Plut. v. 1120; in Ran. &c.

x Hesiod. Theogon. v. 126, &c. Vide etiam Aristoph. in Av. v. 700.

y Pind. in Nem. od. 6. v. 1. Schol. ibid.

of the eagle, who, after visiting his vast domains of air, drops, oppressed with fatigue, upon a lofty mountain; and his slumber resembles that of Jupiter, who, according to Homer himself, hurls his thunder when he awakes.[z]

Whoever shall judge of Homer not by frigid reasonings but by his feelings: not by rules too often arbitrary, but according to the immutable laws of nature, will undoubtedly be convinced, that he merits all the honours lavished on him by the Greeks, and that his works are the greatest ornament of the ages whose history I have been abridging.

PART II.

IT is not until about one hundred and fifty years after the first Olympiad that the history of the Athenians, properly speaking, begins. It therefore comprises only three hundred years, if brought down to the present time; and about two hundred and twenty, if concluded at the taking of Athens. In this series of years it is easy to discover certain important intervals, which mark the rise, the progress, and the decline of their empire. If I may be allowed to

[z] Iliad. lib. 15. v. 377.

distinguish these æras by characteristic names, I shall call the first the age of Solon, or of the laws; the second, the age of Themistocles and Aristides, or the age of glory; the third, that of Pericles, or the age of luxury and the arts.

SECT. I.

THE AGE OF SOLON *.

THE form of government established by Theseus had undergone material alterations; the people still possessed the right of assembling, but the sovereign power resided in the hands of the wealthy.[a] The republic was governed by nine archons, or annual magistrates,[b] who did not enjoy their power long enough to abuse it; and who, in fact, had not sufficient authority to maintain the tranquillity of the state.

The inhabitants of Attica were separated into three factions, each of which had at its head one of the most ancient families of Athens. Divided as they all were by interest, diversity of character, and situation, it was impossible for them to agree in the choice of a form of government. The poorest and most independent, confined to the adjacent mountains, favoured a

* From the year 630, to the year 490, before Christ.
[a] Arist. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 336.
[b] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 126.

democracy; the wealthiest, dispersed over the plain, wished for an oligarchy; while the inhabitants of the coasts, engaged in maritime and commercial affairs, were for a mixed government, which might secure their possessions, without proving injurious to public liberty.[c]

To this source of divisions each party united the inveterate hatred of the poor against the rich. Obscure citizens, overwhelmed with debts, had no resource but that of selling their liberty, or that of their children, to merciless creditors; and the greatest part of them had determined to abandon a country which held out only ineffectual labour to some of them; and eternal slavery, and the sacrifice of every sentiment of nature, to the remainder.[d]

An inconsiderable number of laws, almost as ancient as the state, and generally known by the name of Royal Laws,[e] were found to be insufficient; since, from the growth of knowledge, new sources of industry, new necessities and vices, were diffused through society. Licentiousness was either passed over with impunity, or chastised only by arbitrary punishments. The life and fortune of individuals were left at the discretion of magistrates, who, subjected to no certain limitations, were but too much dis-

[c] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 59. Plut. in Solon. p. 85.
[d] Plut. in Solon. p. 85.
[e] Xenophon. Œcon. p. 856. Meurs. in Them. Attic. cap. 36.

posed to listen to their prepossessions or their interests.

In this confusion, which menaced the state with immediate destruction, Draco was made choice of, with full powers to exercise the whole of legislation, in its most extensive or circumstantial views. The particulars of his private life are little known to us; but he has left the reputation of a man of worth, possessed of real knowledge, and sincerely attached to his country.[f] Other strokes of character might perhaps embellish his eulogium, but are not necessary to his memory. Like all preceding and subsequent legislators, he formed a code of laws and morals; he took the citizen at the moment of his birth, prescribed the manner of his earliest education,[g] followed him through the different stages of his life, and, connecting these partial views with the main objects, flattered himself he should be able to form free men and virtuous citizens: but he only produced malecontents, and his regulations excited so many murmurs, that he was compelled to take refuge in the island of Ægina, where he soon after died.

His laws were strongly impressed with the peculiarity of his character; they were as severe as his manners had ever been rigid.[h] Death

[f] Aul. Gell. lib. 11. cap. 18. Suid. in Dracon.
[g] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 261.
[h] Arist. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 337. Id. de Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 23. t. ii. p. 579.

was the chastisement he inflicted on idleness, and the only punishment he decreed for the slightest offences, as well as for the most atrocious crimes: he was accustomed to say that he knew of none milder for the former, and could devise no other for the latter.[i] It seems as if his powerful mind, virtuous, even to excess, was incapable of any indulgence for crimes at which it revolted, or for those weaknesses over which it triumphed without an effort. Perhaps, too, he was of opinion, that, in the path of vice, the first step inevitably leads to the most dreadful precipices.

As he had not attempted any change in the form of government,[k] the intestine divisions augmented from day to day. One of the principal citizens, named Cylon, formed the project of seizing on the sovereign authority. He was besieged in the citadel, where he long defended himself; and at length wanting provisions, and destitute of every hope of succour, eluded, by flight, the punishment due to his crime. His followers took refuge in the temple of Minerva; from which asylum they were enticed by the promise of life, and instantly massacred.* Some of these unfortunate men were murdered even on the altars of the awful Eumenides.[l]

[i] Plut. in Solon. p. 87.
[k] Arist. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 337.
* The year 612 before Christ.
[l] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 126. Plut. in Solon. p. 84.

The indignation excited by this action was universal; the people at once execrated the perfidy and shuddered at the impiety of the victors; and the whole city expected that some dreadful calamity would be immediately inflicted by celestial vengeance. Amidst this general consternation, news was brought that the city of Nisæa and the isle of Salamis had fallen by the arms of the Megareans.

To this melancholy intelligence succeeded soon after an epidemical distemper. The public imagination, already agitated, was suddenly seized with panic terrors, and haunted by a thousand terrifying chimæras. The augurs and oracles being consulted, declared that the city, polluted by the profanation of the holy places, must be purified by the ceremonies of expiation.

The Athenians therefore sent to Crete for Epimenides,[m] considered in his time as a man who had an intercourse with the gods, and who saw into futurity; though at present he would be only esteemed a fanatic possessed of knowledge, capable of seducing by his talents, and of commanding respect by the severity of his manners; skilful more especially in explaining dreams and the most obscure presages,[n] and in discerning future events in the causes which must produce them.[o] The Cretans say, that

[m] Plato de Legib. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 642.
[n] Arist. de Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 17. t. ii. p. 505.
[o] Plut. in Solon. p. 84. Laërt. in Epim. lib. 1. § 114.

when young he was seized in a cavern with a profound sleep, which, according to some, lasted forty years;[p] and much longer, according to others:[q] they add, that, on his awaking, astonished at the changes in every thing he saw, and driven from his father's house as an impostor, he was not acknowledged till after he had given the most satisfactory proofs of the justness of his claims. The meaning of this whole story must be, that Epimenides passed the first years of his youth in solitary places, wholly absorbed in the study of nature, forming his imagination to enthusiasm,[r] by fasting, silence, and meditation, without any other ambition than, by making himself acquainted with the will of the gods, to secure his power over the minds of men. His success surpassed his hopes; and he acquired such a reputation for wisdom and sanctity, that, in times of public calamity,[s] nations entreated from him the favour of purifying them by rites, which, as they alleged, he could render more acceptable to the divinity.

Athens received him with transports of hope and fear.* He directed that new temples and new altars should be built to immolate the

[p] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 35.

[q] Plut. t. ii. p. 784. Laërt. in Epim. lib. 1. § 110.

[r] Plut. in Solon. p. 84. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 18. t. iii. p. 16. [s] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 35.

* About the year 597 before Christ. See note II. at the end of the volume.

victims he had chosen, and that these sacrifices should be accompanied by certain hymns.[t] As while speaking he seemed agitated with a divine inspiration,[u] his impetuous eloquence was irresistible. He availed himself of the ascendency he had acquired to effect several changes in the religious ceremonies then in use; and in this respect he may be esteemed one of the legislators of Athens. He rendered these ceremonies less expensive;[x] he abolished the barbarous practice of the women who cut and disfigured their faces while accompanying the dead to the tomb; and, by a multitude of useful regulations, endeavoured to bring back the Athenians to the true principles of social union and justice.

The confidence which he had inspired, and the time necessary for complying with his directions, insensibly calmed the minds of the people. The phantoms disappeared; and Epimenides departed, honoured with the unbounded applause of a whole nation, which regretted his departure. He refused considerable presents, and only demanded for himself a branch of the olive consecrated to Minerva, and the friendship of the Athenians for Cnossus his country.[y]

[t] Strab. lib. 10. p. 479.
[u] Cicer de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 18. t. iii. p. 16.
[x] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 84.
[y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 642. Plut. ibid. Laërt. lib. 1. § 111.

Soon after he had left Athens, the factions again revived with redoubled fury; and their excesses were carried to such a height, as quickly to reduce them to that extremity, which leaves no other alternative to a state, but to incur certain ruin, or submit to be guided by the genius of a single man.

Solon was therefore unanimously raised to the dignity of first magistrate, legislator, and sovereign arbiter.* He was urged to mount the throne; but as he was doubtful whether it would be easy to descend from it, he resisted at once the reproaches of his friends, the entreaties of the leaders of the factions, and of the wiser part of the citizens.[z]

Solon was descended from the ancient kings of Athens.[a] From his earliest youth he had applied himself to commerce, either to repair the injuries which the liberality of his father had done to the fortune of his family, or to become acquainted with the manners and laws of different nations. After having acquired, in that profession, sufficient property to place himself, beyond the reach of want, and to render unnecessary the generous offers of his friends, he continued to pursue his travels, with the sole view of increasing his stock of knowledge.[b]

* About the year 594 before Christ.
[z] Plut. in Solon. p. 85.
[a] Id. ibid. p. 78.
[b] Id. ibid. p 79.

The learning of that time was in the possession of a few virtuous men, known by the name of sages, and dispersed through the different districts of Greece. The sole object of their study was man, what he is, what he ought to be, and in what manner he may best be instructed and governed. They collected the small number of moral and political truths, and comprised them in maxims sufficiently clear to be comprehended at the first glance, and pointed enough to be, or to appear, profound. Each of them selected one of these in preference, which became as it were his device and the standard of his conduct. "Too much of nothing," said one; "Know thyself," said another.[c] This conciseness and accuracy, which the Spartans have retained in their style, was common in the answers formerly given by the sages to the frequent questions of kings and individuals. United by a friendship never diminished by their celebrity, they sometimes assembled at the same place, to communicate their observations, and to consult together for the interests of mankind.[d]

In these august assemblies appeared Thales of Miletus, who was at that time laying the foundation of a more general, but perhaps less useful, philosophy; Pittacus of Mytilene, Bias

[c] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 343.
[d] Plut. in Solon. p. 80. Laërt. in Thal. lib. 1. § 40.

of Priene, Cleobulus of Lindus, Myson of Chena, Chilo of Lacedæmon, and Solon of Athens, the most illustrious of them all.[e] Nor will the ties of consanguinity, or the memory of the places that gave me birth, permit me to forget Anacharsis, whom their celebrity brought from the most distant part of Scythia, and whom Greece, jealous as she is of the merit of foreigners, sometimes places in the number of the sages she reveres.[f]

To the information which Solon derived from his intercourse with these great men, he had united distinguished talents. He was born with a genius for poetry, which he cultivated to his extreme old age, with equal ease and simplicity. His early essays were only works of recreation. In his other writings, we find hymns in honour of the gods, various allusions intended to justify his legislation, counsels or reproaches addressed to the Athenians;[g] almost every where a pure morality, and beauties disclosing genius. In the latter years of his life, having obtained an intimate acquaintance with the traditions of the Egyptians, he had undertaken to describe, in a poem, the revolutions which have happened on our globe, and the wars of the Athenians with the inhabitants of the island of Atlantis, situate

[e] Plat. in Protag. t. ii. p. 343. Plut. in Solon. p. 80.
[f] Hermip. ap. Laërt. lib. 1. § 41.
[g] Plut. in Solon. p. 80. Laërt. in Solon. § 47.

beyond the pillars of Hercules, and since swallowed up by the ocean.[h] If, free from every other care, he had, in a less advanced age, treated a subject so adapted to display the vigour of his imagination, he might perhaps have participated in the glory of Homer and of Hesiod.[i]

He may be reproached with not having shown a sufficient enmity to riches, though he was not anxious to acquire them; with having sometimes expressed himself concerning pleasure in a manner not the most worthy of a philosopher;[k] and of not observing in his conduct that austerity of manners which becomes the reformer of a nation. It should seem as if his mild and easy character only destined him to lead a peaceful life in the bosom of the arts and innocent enjoyments.

Yet we must allow, that on certain occasions he proved himself neither deficient in vigour nor in constancy. He it was who engaged the Athenians to recover the isle of Salamis, in defiance of the rigorous injunction they had laid on their orators not even to propose its conquest:[l] and his superior courage seemed more especially distinguished in the first act of authority which he exercised when at the head of the republic.

h Plat. in Crit. t. iii. p. 113.
i Id. in Tim. t. iii. p. 21.
k Plut. in Solon. p. 79.
l Id. ibid. p. 82.

The poor, determined to risk every thing to escape from oppression, loudly demanded a new partition of the lands, preceded by an abolition of debts. The rich opposed with the same ardour claims which would have confounded them with the multitude, and, according to them, must inevitably have overturned the state. In this extremity Solon abolished the debts of individuals, annulled all the acts which fettered the liberty of the citizens, but refused to make an equal distribution of the lands.[m] Both rich and poor thought that all was lost, because they had not obtained all; but when the former found themselves still peaceable possessors of the estates they had inherited from their ancestors, or which they had themselves acquired; when the latter, for ever released from the dread of slavery, saw their little patrimonies freed from every species of servitude; when industry, in fine, was seen to flourish, confidence to be re-established, and a number of unfortunate citizens, whom the severity of creditors had driven from their country, were encouraged to return; the general murmurs gave place to sentiments of gratitude; and the people, admiring the wisdom of their legislator, added new powers to those with which they already had invested him.

He availed himself of these to revise the laws

[m] Plut. in Solon. p. 87.

of Draco, the abolition of which was demanded by the Athenians. Those respecting murder were preserved unrepealed,[n] and they are still enforced by the tribunals, where the name of Draco is never pronounced but with the veneration due to the benefactors of mankind.[o]

Emboldened by success, Solon completed the work of his legislation. He first regulated the form of government, and next enacted laws to secure the tranquillity of the citizen. His principle was in the first part of his plan to establish that equality which alone ought to subsist between the different orders of the state in a republic;[p] and in the second he was guided by the maxim that the best government is that in which is found a wise distribution of rewards and punishments.[q]

Solon, preferring the popular form of government to every other, bestowed his first attention on three essential objects; the assembly of the nation, the choice of magistrates, and the tribunals of justice.

It was determined that the supreme power should reside in the assemblies, at which every citizen should have a right to be present,[r] and in which all ordinances respecting peace, war,

[n] Plut. in Solon. p. 87.
[o] Demosth. in Timocr. p. 805. Æschin. in Timarc. p. 261.
[p] Solon. ap. Plut. ibid. p. 88.
[q] Cicer. Epist. 15. ad Brutum. t. ix. p. 115.
[r] Plut. in Solon. p. 88.

alliances, laws, imposts, and all the great interests of the state, should originate.[s]

But what will become of those interests in the hands of a giddy and ignorant multitude, who forget how they should vote during the deliberation, and what vote they have given when the deliberation is closed?[t] To direct them in their decisions, Solon instituted a senate composed of four hundred persons, chosen from the four tribes comprising at that time all the citizens of Attica.[u] These four hundred persons might be considered as the deputies and representatives of the state. It was ordained that all affairs on which the people were finally to pronounce should be first proposed to them, and that, after examining and discussing these propositions at their leisure, they should themselves make a report to the general assembly; and hence the fundamental law, that every decision of the people shall be preceded by a decree of the senate.[x]

Since all the citizens have the right of being present at the assembly, they must possess that of giving their suffrages. But there would be reason to fear, that, after the report of the senate, inexperienced men might suddenly take

[s] Arist. de Rhet. ad Alex. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 612.
[t] Demosth. de Fals. Legat. p. 314.
[u] Plut. in Solon. p. 88.
[x] Demosth. in Leptin. p. 541. Id. in Androt. p. 699. Liban. in Androt. p. 696. Plut. ibid. Harpocrat. in Προβέλ.

possession of the rostrum, and mislead the multitude. The first impressions they are to receive, therefore, must be previously prepared; and hence it was regulated that the first suffrages should be given by men who had passed the fiftieth year of their age.[y]

In certain republics a set of men arose who devoted themselves to the profession of haranguing; and experience had shown that their voices had frequently more weight in popular assemblies than the power of the laws.[z] It was necessary to guard against their eloquence; and integrity of character was deemed a sufficient security against abuses in the exercise of their talents. It was ordained, that no orator should be permitted to intermeddle in public affairs, until his moral conduct had undergone a careful scrutiny, and every citizen was allowed to proceed judicially against the orator who should have found the secret of concealing the irregularity of his manners from the severity of this inquiry.[a]

After providing for the mode in which the supreme power was to make known its will, magistrates must be chosen to carry that will into execution. In whom resides the power of conferring the offices of magistracy? On what persons; how; and for what time; with what re-

[y] Æschin. in Timarch. p. 264.
[z] Plut. in Conv. t. ii. p. 154.
[a] Æschin. ibid. Harpocr. et Suidas in Ῥητορ. γραφ.

strictions, must they be conferred? On all these points the institutions of Solon appear conformable to the true spirit of a wise democracy.

The functions of the magistracy, in this government, are so important, that the nomination to offices can only be vested in the sovereign power. Did not the people possess, as far as practicable, the right of disposing of them, and of keeping a vigilant eye over the manner in which they are exercised, they would be enslaved, and consequently become enemies of the state.[b] Solon left therefore to the general assembly the power of choosing the magistrates, and that of requiring from them an account of their administration.[c]

In most of the Grecian democracies, every citizen, even the poorest, may aspire to the magistracy.[d] But Solon thought it more prudent to leave this privilege in the hands of the rich, who had hitherto possessed it.[e] He distributed the citizens of Attica into four classes. They were enrolled in the first, second, and third of these classes, accordingly as they received from their respective patrimonies, five, three, or two hundred measures of corn or oil. The other citizens, for the most part poor and ignorant, were comprised in the fourth, and removed

[b] Arist. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 336.
[c] Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 350; lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 416.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 8. p. 399; lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 414.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 12. p. 336.

from all political employments.[f] Had they possessed the hope of attaining these offices, they would have been less respectable in their eyes; had they in fact attained them, what could have been expected from such magistrates?[g]

It is essential to a democracy, that the offices of the magistracy should be granted only for a time, and that those at least which require only a certain degree of capacity should be left to the disposal of fortune.[h] Solon ordered, therefore, that all offices should be annual; that the principal dignities should, as heretofore, be conferred by the election of the people,[i] and that the others should be determined by lot.[k]

In fine, the nine chief magistrates, presiding, in quality of archons, in the tribunals before which the causes of individuals were tried, it was to be feared lest their power might give them too much influence over the multitude. Solon therefore provided that appeals might lie from their sentence to the superior courts.[l]

It now remained to fill these courts of justice. We have seen that the last and most numerous class of citizens were excluded from any share in the magistracy. Such an exclusion, always

[f] Plut. in Solon. p. 88.
[g] Arist. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 350.
[h] Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 414.
[i] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 12.
[k] Æschin. in Tim. p. 63.
[l] Plut. in Solon. p. 88.

humiliating in a popular state, would have been infinitely dangerous,[m] if the citizens who laboured under this incapacity had not received some indemnification, and if they had seen the discussion of their interests and rights exclusively possessed by the rich. Solon ordained that all, without distinction, might become candidates to fill the place of judges, and that chance should be the arbiter between them.[n]

To render durable these regulations, essential to the establishment of a kind of equilibrium between the different classes of citizens, it was necessary to confide their conservation to a body of men, whose places should be for life, who should have no part in the administration, and who might impress on the minds of the people a profound respect for their wisdom. Athens possessed in the Areopagus a tribunal which attracted the confidence and love of the people, by its knowledge and integrity.[o] Solon having entrusted to its vigilance the maintenance of the laws and of morals, established it as a superior power, whose duty it was incessantly to recal the people to the principles of the constitution, and individuals to the rules of duty and decorum. Still more to increase the public venera-

[m] Arist. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 350.

[n] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 12. p. 336. Demosth. in Aristog. p. 832.

[o] Meurs. Areop. cap. 4.

tion for this tribunal, and to render it thoroughly acquainted with the interests of the republic, he enacted that the archons, on going out of office, should, after a severe examination, be enrolled in the number of senators.

Thus did the senate of the Areopagus, and that of the four hundred, become two counterpoises sufficiently powerful to secure the republic against the storms from which all states are incessantly in danger;[p] the former, by repressing the enterprises of the rich by its general censure; and the latter, by restraining, by its decrees and its presence, the excesses of the multitude.

New laws were enacted in support of these regulations. The constitution might be attacked either by the general factions which had so long agitated the different orders of the state, or by the ambition and intrigues of some individuals.

To guard against these dangers, Solon denounced punishments against those citizens, who, in time of public commotion, refused openly to declare for one of the parties.[q] His view, in this admirable institution, was to rouse men of merit and integrity from a state of fatal inactivity, to oppose them to the factious, and save the republic by the courage and ascendancy of virtue.

[p] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 88.
[q] Id. ibid. t. i. p. 89. Aul. Gell. lib. 2. cap. 12.

By a second law, every citizen convicted of having attempted to make himself master of the sovereign authority was condemned to death.[r]

Lastly, in the case of an attempt to erect another government on the ruins of the popular form, this wise legislator could imagine but one method to re-animate the nation, and that was by obliging the magistrates to resign their employments; and hence this stern and menacing decree: It shall be lawful for every citizen, not only to put to death a tyrant and his accomplices, but any magistrate who shall continue to exercise his functions after the destruction of the democracy.[s]

Such is the epitome of the republic of Solon. I shall now take a cursory view of his civil and criminal laws with the same rapidity. I have already said that those of Draco respecting murder were retained without the smallest alteration. Solon abolished all the others, or rather contented himself with mitigating their rigour,[t] new modelling them with his own, and adapting them to the genius of the Athenians.

His object in all was the general welfare of the republic, rather than the benefit of individuals.[u] Thus, according to his principles, which were perfectly conformable to those of the most en-

[r] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 110.
[s] Andoc. de Myster. p. 13.
[t] Lys. ap. Laërt. in Solon. § 55.
[u] Demosth. in Androt. p. 703.

lightened philosophers, the citizen is to be considered, 1. in his person as forming part of the state;[x] 2. in the greater part of the obligations he contracts, as appertaining to a family, which itself appertains to the state;[y] and, 3. in his conduct, as the member of a society, whose morals constitute the power of that state.

I. Under the first of these aspects, a citizen may demand satisfactory reparation for an outrage on his person. But if he be in extreme indigence, how may he be able to deposit the sum required to be advanced by the accuser? He is exempted from it by the laws.[z] But if born in an obscure condition, who shall secure him against the attacks of the rich and powerful man? All the true friends of the democracy, all those whom probity, interest, jealousy, or revenge, have made the enemies of the aggressor; all are authorised to prosecute by this admirable law. "If any one shall insult a child, a woman, a freeman, or a slave, let it be lawful for any Athenian to prosecute him."[a] The accusation will thus become public, and an offence committed against the lowest citizen be punished as a crime against the state; and this is founded on the following principle: Force is the lot of some,

[x] Arist. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 1. p. 450.
[y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 11. p. 923.
[z] Isocr. in Loch. t. ii. p. 547.
[a] Demosth. In Mid. p. 610. Isocr. in Loch. p. 548. Plut. in Solon. p. 88.

law the support of all.[b] This again is founded on the maxim of Solon: That there would be no acts of injustice in a city, were all the citizens to consider themselves as directly attacked as those who suffer the injury.[c]

The liberty of the citizen is so precious, that its exercise is to be suspended by the laws alone; that he cannot himself engage it for debt, or on any pretext whatever,[d] nor has he the right of disposing of that of his sons. The legislator allows him to sell his daughter or sister; but in the single instance, of witnessing their dishonour,* when charged with the superintendance of their conduct.[e]

When an Athenian is guilty of self-murder, he is culpable towards the state, which he deprives of a citizen.[f] His hand is separately interred as a stigma on his memory.[g] But should he be the murderer of his father, what punishment shall the laws prescribe? They are silent concerning this atrocious crime. To inspire more horror for it, Solon has supposed such a degeneracy of nature absolutely impossible.[h]

[b] Demosth. in Mid. p. 610.
[c] Plut. in Solon. p. 88. Stob. serm. 41. p. 247 et 268.
[d] Id. ibid. p. 86.
* See note III. at the end of the volume.
[e] Plut. in Solon. p. 91.
[f] Arist. de Mor. lib. 5. cap 15. t. ii. p. 73.
[g] Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 467. Pet. in Leg. Att. p. 522.
[h] Cicer. in Rosc. cap. 25. t. iv. p. 72. Laërt. in Solon. § 59.

The liberty of a citizen would be imperfect, could his honour be attacked with impunity. Hence the penalties denounced against calumniators, and the permission to prosecute them;[i] hence, too, the prohibition against sullying the memory of a man who is no more.[k] Independent of the sage policy there is in not perpetuating the hatreds between families, it is unjust that a man after death should be exposed to insults he would have repelled during his life-time.

A citizen is not the master of his honour, since he is not of his life. Hence those laws, which, in various circumstances, deprive the man who forfeits his honour of the privileges appertaining to the citizen.

In other countries, the citizens of the lower classes are so dismayed at the obscurity of their condition, the influence of their adversaries, the prolixity of legal procedures, and the dangers to which they may be exposed by them, that they often find it better for them to endure than to endeavour to defend themselves against oppression. The laws of Solon present several remedies against violence or injustice. Is the matter in question a robbery, for instance;[l] you may yourself drag the criminal before the eleven magistrates appointed for the guard of the pri-

[i] Pet. Leg. Attic. p. 535.
[k] Plut. in Solon. p. 89.
[l] Demost. in Androt. p. 703.

sons. They will put him in irons, and then bring him before the tribunal, which will condemn you to a penalty if the crime be not proved. Are you not strong enough to seize the criminal; apply to the archons, who will have him dragged to prison by their lictors. Would you adopt another method; accuse him publicly. Are you afraid of not being able satisfactorily to support this accusation, and of being sentenced to pay the penalty of one thousand drachmas; lodge an information before the tribunal of the arbiters; the cause will be converted into a civil action, and you will incur no risk. Thus has Solon multiplied the powers of each individual, and there is no species of oppression or injury over which it is not easy to triumph.

The greater part of the crimes which attack the security of the citizen may be prosecuted by a public or private accusation. In the former case, the offended person considers himself only as a simple individual, and confines his demands to a reparation proportionate to his particular injuries: in the latter, he presents himself in the quality of a citizen, and the crime becomes more serious. Solon has facilitated public accusations, because they are more necessary in a democracy than under any other form of government.[m] But for this formidable check, the general liberty

[m] Machiavel. Discors. sopra la prima Decad. di Liv. lib. 1. cap. 7 et 8.

would be perpetually endangered by the liberty of each individual.

II. Let us now see what are the duties of the citizen, in the generality of the obligations he contracts.

In a well regulated republic the number of inhabitants should neither be too great nor too inconsiderable.[n] Experience has shown that the number of men able to bear arms ought neither greatly to surpass, nor fall much short of, twenty thousand.[o]

To preserve this just proportion, Solon, among other means, does not permit strangers to be naturalised but on conditions difficult to be complied with:[p] on the other hand to prevent the extinction of families, he directs that their chiefs should be represented after their death by legitimate or adopted children; and in the case of an individual dying without issue, he ordains that one of his natural heirs shall be juridically substituted for the deceased citizen, assume his name, and perpetuate his family.[q]

The magistrate, whose office it is to prevent families from remaining without heads, is likewise to extend his care and the protection of

[n] Plat. de Rep. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 423. Arist. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 4. p. 430.

[o] Plat. in Crit. t. iii. p. 112. Demosth. in Aristog. p. 836. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 172. Philoch. ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. 9. v. 67. Schol. Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 716.

[p] Plut. in Solon. p. 91.

[q] Demosth. in Leoch. p. 1047.

the laws to orphans; to women who declare their pregnancy after the death of their husbands; and to girls who, having no brothers, are entitled to claim the inheritance of their ancestors.[r]

Does a citizen adopt a child; the latter may one day return to his paternal house; but he must leave, in the family that adopted him, a son to accomplish the views of his original adoption; and this son, in his turn, may quit this family, after leaving a natural or adopted son as his substitute.[s]

These precautions were not alone sufficient. The chain of generations might be interrupted by divisions and animosities between the husband and wife. Divorces shall be permitted, but on conditions which shall restrain their frequency.[t] If it be the husband who demands the separation, he is bound to restore to his wife her dowry, or at least to pay her an alimentary pension settled by law:[u] if it be the wife, she must herself appear before the judges, and present her request.[x]

It is essential in a democracy, not only that families should be preserved, but that estates should not be in the hands of a small number

[r] Demosth. in Macart. p. 1040.
[s] Id. in Leoch. p. 1045.
[t] Pet. in Leg. Attic. p. 459.
[u] Demosth. in Neær. p. 869.
[x] Andocid. in Alcib. p. 30. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 195.

of individuals.[y] When they are distributed in a certain proportion, the people, possessed of a few trifling parcels of land, are more occupied with them than with the dissensions of the forum. Hence the prohibitions of some legislators against selling the family possessions, except in cases of extreme necessity,[z] or of mortgaging them to procure resources against want.[a] The violation of this principle has sometimes been sufficient to overthrow the constitution.[b]

Of this principle Solon never has lost sight: he has prescribed limits to the acquisitions which may be made by individuals;[c] and he has deprived that citizen of part of his rights who has foolishly wasted the inheritance of his fathers.[d]

An Athenian who has children can only dispose of his property in their favour; if he has none, and dies intestate, the succession descends in a right line to those who are nearest of kin:[e] if he leaves an only daughter heiress of his fortune, it is the duty of the nearest relation to espouse her;[f] but he must demand her in form of law, that no person may afterwards dispute with him the possession. These rights of the next of

[y] Arist. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 375.
[z] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 323.
[a] Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 417.
[b] Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 3. p. 388.
[c] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 323.
[d] Laërt. in Solon. § 55.
[e] Demosth. in Macart. p. 1035.
[f] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 441.

kin are so clearly recognized, that should one of his female relations, previously married to an Athenian, succeed to the estate of her father dead without male issue, he is entitled to annul the marriage, and compel her to espouse him.[g]

But if this husband be not in a condition to have children, he will transgress the law which watches over the perpetuating of families, and offend against that which preserves their property. To punish him for this double infraction, Solon permits the wife to bestow herself on the nearest relation of the husband.[h]

It is with the same view that an orphan, the only or the eldest daughter of her father, may, if she have no fortune, oblige her nearest relation to marry, or provide her with a dower: if he refuses, the orphan will compel him, under penalty of a fine of one thousand drachmas.[i] It is from the consequences of these principles, likewise, that the natural heir is on the one hand incapable of being guardian, and the guardian of espousing the mother of his wards;[k] and that, on the other hand, a brother may marry his half-sister by the father, but not his uterine sister.[l] And in fact it might be apprehended that an

[g] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 444. Herald. Animad. in Salmas. lib. 3. cap. 15.

[h] Plut. in Solon. p. 89.

[i] Demosth. in Macart. p. 1036.

[k] Laërt. in Solon. § 56.

[l] Cornel. Nep. in Præf. Id. in Cim. Plut. in Themistocl. p. 128; in Cimon. p. 480. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 440.

interested guardian, or an unnatural mother, would turn to their advantage the property of their wards; there would be ground to fear lest a brother, by leaguing with his uterine sister, should accumulate in his own person both the inheritance of his father and that of the first husband of his mother.[m]

All the regulations of Solon respecting successions, testaments, and donations, are dictated by the same spirit. We must not however overlook that which allows a citizen dying without children to dispose of his property at pleasure. Some philosophers have exclaimed, and many perhaps will still exclaim, against a law which appears so contrary to the principles of the legislator.[n] Others justify him both by the restrictions with which he has clogged the law, and by the object which he had in view: for he requires that the testator shall neither be enfeebled by age or sickness; that he shall not have yielded to the seductions of a wife; that he shall not be in bonds, nor have given any symptoms of alienation of mind.[o] With all these precautions, what reason can there be to fear that he should choose an heir from any other family, if he has

[m] Esprit. des Lois, liv. 5. chap. 5.

[n] Plat. de Leg. lib. 11. p. 922. Esprit des Lois, liv. 5. chap. 5.

[o] Demosth. in Steph. 2. p. 984.

no cause to complain of his own? It was with a view therefore of exciting respect and attention among relations,[p] that Solon granted the citizens a permission they had never before possessed, which they received with applause,[q] and is not naturally liable to abuse. It must be added, that an Athenian who made a stranger his heir, at the same time adopted him.[r]

The Egyptians have a law, by which each individual must give an account of his fortune, and the means by which he procures a maintenance.[s] This law is still more useful in a democracy, where the people should be neither unemployed, nor gain their livelihood by illicit means:[t] and still more is it necessary in a country where the sterility of the soil can only be compensated by labour and industry.[u]

Hence the regulations by which Solon stigmatises idleness with infamy,[x] and directs the Areopagus to inquire into the mode by which individuals provide for their subsistence; allows them to exercise all the mechanic arts, and de-

[p] Demosth. in Lept. p. 556.
[q] Plut. in Solon. p. 90.
[r] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 479.
[s] Herod. lib. 2. cap. 177. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 70.
[t] Arist. de Rep. lib. 6. cap. 4. Esprit des Lois, liv. 5. chap. 6.
[u] Plut. in Solon. p. 90.
[x] Laërt. in Solon. § 55. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 6. et cap. 42. Demosth. in Eubul. p. 887.

prives the man who neglects to educate his son to some profession, of the aid he should expect from him in his old age.[y]

III. It only remains to mention a few of his regulations which more particularly relate to the morals of the people.

Solon, after the example of Draco, enacted a number of laws respecting the duties of the citizens, and especially the education of youth.[z] In them he has foreseen and provided for every thing, both the precise age at which children should receive public lessons, and the characters and talents of the masters who are to instruc them, the preceptors who are to attend them, and the hours of opening and shutting the schools; and as these places should admit nothing that may taint innocence,—Let every man, adds he, be punished with death, who shall dare to introduce himself without necessity into the sanctuary where the children are assembled, and let one of the courts of justice superintend the observance of these regulations.[a]

At the expiration of infancy, they shall be removed to the gymnasium. There the laws shall still watch over them, to preserve the purity of their manners, to guard them against the contagion of example, and the dangers of seduction.

In the various periods of their lives, new pas-

[y] Plut. in Solon. p. 90.
[z] Æschin. in Tim. p. 261. [a] Id. ibid.

sions will succeed rapidly in their hearts. The legislator has multiplied menaces and punishments; he assigns recompences to virtue, and dishonour to vice.[b]

Thus, the children of those who shall die fighting for their country are to be educated at the public expence;[c] and crowns are to be solemnly decreed to those who have rendered services to the state.

On the other hand, the citizen who has become notorious for depravity of manners, whatever be his condition, or whatever talents he possesses, shall be excluded from the priesthood, the magistracy, the senate, and general assembly; he shall neither be allowed to speak in public, nor undertake an embassy, nor have a seat in the tribunals of justice; and should he exercise any of those functions, he shall be criminally prosecuted, and suffer the rigorous punishments prescribed by the laws.[d]

Cowardice, under whatever form it appears, whether by refusing military service, or by betraying it by some unworthy action, cannot be palliated by the rank of the offender, nor under any pretext: it shall be punished not only by general contempt, but by a public accusation, which will teach the citizen still more to dread

[b] Demosth. in Leptin. p. 564.
[c] Laërt. in Solon. § 55.
[d] Æschin. in Tim. p. 263.

the disgrace inflicted by the law than the sword of the enemy.[e]

The laws have prohibited every kind of studied refinement and delicacy among the men,[f] and restrain the women, who have such influence on manners, within the bounds of modesty.[g] They also oblige a son to maintain his parents in their old age.[h] But children born of a courtezan are exempted from this obligation towards their father, since they, in fact, owe to him nothing but the opprobrium of their birth.[i]

To maintain these manners there must be examples: and these examples must proceed from those who are at the head of the government. The greater the height from which they descend, the more deep and lasting is their impression. The corruption of the meaner citizens is easily repressed, and extends its progress only in obscurity; for corruption never ascends from the lower classes to the higher: but when it is daring enough to take possession of the seat of power, it precipitates itself from thence with more force than the laws themselves can exert: it has accordingly been confidently asserted, that the manners of a nation depend solely on those of the sovereign.[k]

[e] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 456.
[f] Athen. lib. 15. p. 687.
[g] Plut. in Solon. p. 90.
[h] Laërt. in Solon. § 55.
[i] Plut. ibid.
[k] Isocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 168.

Solon was persuaded that no less decency and sanctity were necessary in the administration of a democracy than in the ministry of the altars. Hence those examinations, those oaths, those accounts of their conduct which he exacts from persons who either are, or have been, invested with power; hence his maxim, that justice should be slowly exercised on the faults of individuals, but at the very instant on men in office;[l] hence that terrible law which condemns to death the archon who, after losing his reason in the pleasures of the table, should dare to appear in public with the ensigns of his dignity.[m]

In fine, if we consider that the censure of morals was intrusted to a tribunal, the austerity of whose conduct constituted the severest of censures, we shall readily conceive that Solon considered the preservation of morals as the firmest support of his legislation.

Such was the general system of Solon. His civil and criminal laws have always been regarded as oracles by the Athenians, and as models by other nations. Several of the Grecian states have considered it as a duty to adopt them;[n] and from the farthest part of Italy the Romans, wearied with their divisions, have called them in to their assistance.[o] As circum-

[l] Demosth. in Aristog. p. 845.
[m] Laërt. in Solon. § 57. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 240.
[n] Demosth. in Tim. p. 805.
[o] Liv. lib. 3. cap. 31. Mem. de l'Acad. t. xii. p. 42.

stances may oblige a state to modify some of its laws, I shall speak elsewhere of the precautions taken by Solon to introduce the necessary changes, and to avoid such as might prove dangerous.

The form of government which he established differs essentially from that now in use at Athens. Must we attribute this prodigious change to defects inherent in the constitution itself? or is it to be ascribed to events impossible to be foreseen? I shall venture, from information received in my intercourse with several enlightened Athenians, to hazard a few reflections on so important a subject. But this cursory discussion must be preceded by the history of the revolutions which have happened in the state from the days of Solon to the invasion of the Persians.

The laws of Solon were to continue in force only for a century. He had fixed this period, to prevent the Athenians from murmuring at the prospect of an eternal yoke. After the senators, the archons, and the people had sworn to maintain them, they were inscribed on the different faces of several tablets of wood, which at first were deposited in the cidatel. They reached from the ground to the roof of the edifice that contained them;[p] and, being easily turned round, successively presented the whole code of

[p] Etym. Magn. in Αξων.

laws to the eyes of the spectators. They have since been removed to the prytaneum, and other places, where individuals are allowed free access to consult these precious charters of their liberty.[q]

When time had been given to consider and make trial of these laws, Solon was surrounded by a crowd of importunate citizens, who overwhelmed him with questions, advices, commendations or reproaches. Some pressed him for an explanation of particular laws, capable according to them, of different interpretations; others proposed a variety of things to be added, modified or suppressed. Solon having exhausted his patience, and tried every conciliatory method in vain, was sensible that time alone could perfect and give strength to his work; he therefore departed, after requesting permission to absent himself for ten years,[r] and binding the Athenians by a solemn oath, not to make any alteration in his laws until his return.[s]

In Egypt he conversed with those priests, who imagine they have in their possession the annals of the world; and as he was one day explaining to them the ancient traditions of

[q] Plut. in Solon. p. 92. Aul. Gell. lib. 2. cap. 12. Poll. lib. 8. cap. 10. N° 128. Meurs. Lect. Att. lib. 1. cap. 22. Pet. in Præf. Leg. Att.

[r] Plut. in Solon. p. 92.

[s] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 29.

Greece: "Solon, Solon," said one of these priests gravely, "you Greeks are but very young; time has not yet made your knowledge hoary."[t] In Crete he had the honour to instruct the sovereign of a little district in the art of government, and to give his name to a city to the happiness of which he had been instrumental.[u]

At his return, he found the Athenians ready to sink again into anarchy.[x] The three parties, which had so long rent the republic, seemed to have suspended their hatred during his legislation, only to exert it with more violence in his absence. In one point alone were they united; in desiring a change in the constitution, without any other motive but a secret restlessness, or any object but vague hopes.

Solon, being received with the most distinguished honours, wished to avail himself of these favourable dispositions to calm dissensions that were too frequently reviving. At first he thought himself powerfully seconded by Pisistratus, who was at the head of the popular faction; and who, apparently eager to maintain equality among the citizens, declared himself an irreconcileable enemy to every innovation which might tend to its destruction; but he soon discovered that this profound politician

[t] Plut. in Crit. t. iii. p. 22.
[u] Plut. in Solon. p. 93.
[x] Id. p. 94.

concealed the most inordinate ambition under the mask of an affected moderation.

Never did man unite more qualities adapted to captivate the minds of the people than Pisistratus. He was of an illustrious birth,[y] and possessed of great wealth, acknowledged courage,[z] a commanding figure,[a] a persuasive eloquence,[b] to which the musical tone of his voice lent new charms;[c] and a mind enriched with the talents bestowed by nature, and the information procured by study.[d] No man was a greater master of his passions, or knew better how to turn to advantage those virtues he really possessed, and those of which he had only the appearance.[e] His success has proved, that in projects of slow execution nothing can give a more decided superiority than mildness and flexibility of character.

With such eminent advantages, Pisistratus, accessible to the lowest citizens, lavished on them those consolations and succours which dry up the source, or palliate the bitterness, of suffering.[f] Solon, attentive to his proceedings, penetrated his intentions; but, whilst he was employed in devising means to guard against

[y] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 65.
[z] Id. lib. 1. cap. 59.
[a] Athen. lib. 12. cap. 8. p. 533.
[b] Plut. in Solon. p. 95. Cicer. in Brut. cap. 7. t. i. p. 342.
[c] Plut. in Pericl. p. 155.
[d] Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. cap. 34. t. i. p. 312.
[e] Plut. in Solon. p. 95.
[f] id.

their consequences, Pisistratus appeared in the forum, covered with wounds which he had purposely inflicted on himself, imploring the protection of that people he had so frequently protected.[g] The assembly being immediately convoked, he accused the senate and the chiefs of the other factions of attempting his life; and displaying his wounds still bleeding: "Behold," exclaimed he, "the reward of my love for the democracy, and of the zeal with which I have defended your rights!"[h]

At these words violent and meneacing exclamations were heard on all sides. The principal citizens kept silence in astonishment, or took to flight. Solon, filled with indignation at their cowardice, and the infatuation of the multitude, in vain attempted to re-animate the courage of the former, and to dispel the phrenzy of the latter:[i] his voice, enfeebled by years, was easily overpowed by the clamours excited by pity, rage, and apprehension, The assembly concluded by voting Pisistratus a strong guard for the defence of his person. From this moment all his projects were accomplished: he presently employed this force to take possession of the citadel;[k] and, after disarming the mul-

[g] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 59. Arist. de Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 518. Diod. Sicul. lib. 13. p. 215. Laërt. in Solon. &c.
[h] Justin. lib. 2. cap. 8. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 1. cap. 2.
[i] Plut. in Solon. p. 96.
[k] Id. ibid. Polyæn. Strat. lib. 1. cap. 2.

titude, seized without opposition on the supreme authority.*

Solon did not long survive the enslaving of his country. He had opposed, as much as was in his power, the enterprises of Pisistratus. He was seen, with arms, repairing to the forum, and endeavouring to excite the people to defend their liberties:[l] but his example and harangues no longer produced any effect. His friends, terrified at his courage, represented to him that the tyrant was resolved on his destruction; "and what," added they, "can inspire you with such firmness?" "My old age," replied he.[m]

Pisistratus was far from sullying his triumph by an act so atrocious and so odious. He entertained the highest veneration for Solon, and was convinced that the sanction of that legislator alone would in some measure excuse his usurpation. He therefore courted him by distinguished marks of deference and respect. He asked his advice; and Solon, yielding to his seductive arts, while he imagined he only gave way to necessity, was soon prevailed upon to assist him with his counsel;[n] flattering himself, no doubt, with the hope of inducing Pisis-

* The year 560 before Christ.

[l] Plut. in Solon. p. 96. Laërt. in Solon. § 49. Val. Maxim. lib. 5. cap. 3. N° 3.

[m] Plut. ibid. Cicer. de Senect. cap. 20. t. iii. p. 317.

[n] Plut. ibid.

tratus to maintain the laws, and to make fewer encroachments on the established constitution.

Thirty-three years elapsed between the revolution and the death of Pisistratus,* but he continued at the head of affairs only seventeen years.[o] Overpowered by the superior strength of his adversaries, and twice obliged to fly from Athens, he twice resumed his authority,[p] and had the consolation, before he died, of securing it to his family.

During the whole of his government, his days, dedicated to the service of the public, were continually distinguished either by new benefits or new virtues.

His laws, by banishing idleness, encouraged agriculture and industry: he distributed over the country that multitude of obscure citizens, whom the heat of factions had drawn to the capital;[q] he revived the valour of the troops, by assigning to invalid soldiers a certain subsistence for the remainder of their lives.[r] In the country, in the forum, in his gardens, accessible to every person,[s] he appeared like a father amidst his children; ever ready to listen to the

* The year 528 before Christ.

[o] Justin. lib. 2. cap. 8. Arist. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 411.

[p] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 64. Arist. ibid.

[q] Dion. Chrysost. orat. 7. p. 120; orat. 25. p. 281. Hesych. et Suid. in Κατων.

[r] Plut. in Solon. p. 96.

[s] Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 12. cap. 8. p. 533.

complaints of the unfortunate, making pecuniary allowances to some, advances to others, and offers to all.[t]

With a view of gratifying his taste for magnificence, at the same time that he complied with the necessity of giving employment to an untractable and idle people,[u] he embellished the city with temples, gymnasia, and fountains.[x] And as he did not dread the progress of knowledge, he published a new edition of the works of Homer, and founded a library, composed of the best authors then extant, for the use of the Athenians.

Les us add here a few anecdotes which more particularly evince the greatness of his mind.—Never had he the weakness to revenge insults which it was easy for him to punish. While his daughter was attending a religious ceremony, a young man who was passionately in love with her, ran to embrace her, and some time after attempted to carry her off. Pisistratus, when advised by his family to take vengeance, replied: "If we hate those who love us, what shall we do to those who hate us?" and immediately chose this young man to be the husband of his daughter.[y]

[t] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. cap. 25.
[u] Arist. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 407.
[x] Meurs. in Pisistr. cap. 9.
[y] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 189. Polyæan. Strat. lib. 5. cap. 14. Val. Max. lib. 5. cap. 1.

Some drunken persons publicly insulted his wife: the next day they came to him in tears, to solicit a pardon which they could scarcely dare to hope for. "You are mistaken," replied Pisistratus; "my wife did not stir out yesterday the whole day."[z]

Some of his adherents, resolving to withdraw from their obedience to him, retired to a strong hold. He instantly followed them, with some slaves carrying his baggage; and when the conspirators inquired of him his intention: "You must either persuade me to remain with you," said he, "or I must prevail on you to return with me."[a]

These acts of moderation and clemency, frequently repeated during his life, and rendered more conspicuous by the wisdom of his government, insensibly mitigated the refractory spirit of the Athenians, and made many of them prefer so mild a servitude to their ancient and turbulent liberty.[b]

Yet it must be owned, that though in a monarchy Pisistratus would have been the model of the best of kings, in the republic of Athens the citizens in general were more disposed to regard with abhorrence the crime of his usurpation, than to consider all the advantages derived from his government to the state.

[z] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 189.
[a] Plut. ibid.
[b] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 62.

After his death, his sons Hippias and Hipparchus succeeded him, and, with less brilliant talents, governed with the same wisdom.[c] Hipparchus, in particular, loved and patronized literature. Anacreon and Simonides, invited to his court, met there with a most flattering reception; the former was loaded with honours, and the latter with presents. He deserves also to participate with his father in the glory of extending the fame of Homer.[d] He may be reproached, as well as his brother, with too freely abandoning himself to pleasures, and with inspiring the Athenians with a taste for luxury.[e] Unhappily, in the midst of these excesses, he committed an act of injustice, of which he was the first victim!

Two young Athenians, Harmodius and Aristogiton, united in bonds of the tenderest friendship, having received from this prince an affront which it was impossible to forget, conspired his destruction and that of his brother.[f] Some of their friends entered into this conspiracy, and its execution was fixed for the solemnity of the Panathenæa: they hoped that the crowd of Athenians, who, during the ceremonies of this festival, were permitted to bear arms, would second their efforts, or at least

[c] Thucydid. lib. 6. cap. 54.
[d] Plat. in Hipparch. t. ii. p. 228.
[e] Athen. lib. 12. cap. 8. p. 532.
[f] Thucydid. lib. 6. cap. 56. Plut. in Hipparch. t. ii. p. 229. Arist. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 406; et alii.

protect them against the fury of the guards who attended the sons of Pisistratus.

With this view, after covering their poniards with branches of myrtle, they repaired to the place where the princes were arranging a procession which they were to conduct to the temple of Minerva. When they arrived, they saw one of the conspirators in familiar conversation with Hippias, and concluded themselves betrayed; but resolving dearly to sell their lives, retired for a moment, and finding Hipparchus, plunged a dagger into his heart.* Harmodius instantly fell beneath the redoubled blows of the prince's guards. Aristogiton, seized almost at the same instant, was put to the torture; but far from naming his accomplices, he accused the most faithful partizans of Hippias, who ordered them to be dragged to instant punishment. "Hast thou still other wretches to discover?" exclaimed the tyrant, transported with fury. "There are none left but thee," replied the Athenian: "I die, and enjoy in death the satisfaction of having deprived thee of thy best friends."[g]

From that moment Hippias abandoned himself to the perpetration of every kind of injustice;[h] but the heavy yoke which he laid on

* The year 514 before Christ.

[g] Polyæn. Strat. lib. 1. cap. 22. Senec. de Irâ, lib. 2. cap. 23. Justin. lib. 2. cap. 9.

[h] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 59. Arist. Œcon. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 502. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 23. p. 53.

the Athenians was broken three years after*. Clisthenes, chief of the Alcmæonidæ, a powerful house of Athens, at all times inimical to the family of Pisistratus, collected all the malecontents about his person; and having obtained the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, by means of the Pythia of Delphi, whom he had gained over to his interest,[i] marched against Hippias, and forced him to abdicate the tyranny. That prince, after wandering for some time with his family, repaired to the court of Darius, king of Persia, and was at last killed at the battle of Marathon.[k]

No sooner had the Athenians recovered their liberty, than they rendered the highest honours to the memory of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Statues were erected to them in the forum:[l] it was enacted that their names should be for ever celebrated at the festival of the Panathenæa,[m] and should, on no pretext whatever, be given to slaves.[n] The poets eternised their glory by poems and songs,† still sung at banquets;[o] and

* The year 510 before Christ.

[i] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 62 et 66.

[k] Ibid. lib. 6. cap. 107. Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 59.

[l] Arist. de Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 533. Demosth. in Mid. p. 630. Plin. lib. 34. cap. 8. p. 654.

[m] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 344. Philostr. in Vit. Apoll. lib. 7. cap. 4. p. 283.

[n] Aul. Gell. lib. 9. cap. 2.

† See note IV. at the end of the volume.

[o] Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 1220. Id. in Acharn. v. 977. Schol. ibid. Athen. lib. 15. cap. 14. p. 692.

very extensive privileges were granted in perpetuity to their descendants.[p]

Clisthenes, who had so greatly contributed to the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, had still to struggle for many years against a powerful faction;[q] but at length obtaining in the state the authority to which he was entitled by his great talents, he confirmed the constitution established by Solon, which the Pisistratidæ had never attempted entirely to subvert.

Never had these princes, in fact, assumed the title of king, though they boasted themselves to be the descendants of the ancient sovereigns of Athens.[r] If Pisistratus levied the tenth of the produce of the lands,[s] it was the only tax he imposed, and this his sons reduced to a twentieth; and all the three appeared to exact it less for their own maintenance, than for the necessities of the state.[t] They maintained the laws of Solon as much by their example as by their authority. Pisistratus, accused of murder, appeared, like the lowest citizen, to take his trial before the Areopagus.[u] In a word, they preserved the essential parts of the ancient

[p] Isæus de Hered. Dicæog. p. 55. Demosth. in Leptin. p. 565. Dinarch. in Demosth. p. 186.

[q] Herodot, lib. 5. cap. 66.

[r] Laërt. in Solon. § 53. Reinec. Hist. Jul. t. i. p. 465.

[s] Laërt. ibid. Suid in Sphacel.

[t] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 54.

[u] Arist. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 411. Plut. in Solon. p. 96.

constitution; the senate, the assemblies of the people, and the offices of magistracy, with which they were careful to invest themselves,[x] and whose prerogatives they laboured to extend. It was as chief magistrates therefore, as perpetual chiefs of a democratic state, that they acted, and acquired so much influence over the public deliberations. The most absolute power was exercised under apparently legal forms, and the enslaved people had[y] perpetually before their eyes the image of liberty: accordingly we see them, after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, without opposition, and without a struggle, re-assuming their rights, which had been suspended rather than destroyed. The changes now made by Clisthenes in the government did not entirely bring it back to its first principles, as I shall presently show.

The recital of facts has conducted me to the times in which the Athenians signalised their valour against the Persians. But before I proceed to this part of their history, I shall here give the reflections I have promised on the political system of Solon.

We must not expect from Solon a legislation similar to that of Lycurgus. Fortune had placed the two legislators in very different circumstances.

[x] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 59.
[y] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 54.

The Lacedæmonians occupied a country producing every thing necessary for their wants.[z] The legislator had only to confine them to it, to prevent foreign vices from corrupting the spirit and purity of his institutions. Athens, situate near the sea, and surrounded by an ungrateful soil, was obliged continually to interchange her produce, her industry, her ideas, and manners, with those of different nations.

The reform of Lycurgus preceded that of Solon by about two centuries and a half. The Spartans, limited in their arts, their knowledge, and even in their passions, were less advanced in good and evil, than the Athenians were at the time of Solon. The latter, after having experienced all kinds of governments, were disgusted both with servitude and liberty, without being able to dispense with either. Industrious, enlightened, vain, and difficult to govern, all of them, even to the lowest individuals, were accustomed to intrigue, ambition, and all the great passions that take birth in the frequent commotions of a state. They already possessed the vices to be found amongst formed nations. They were remarkable likewise for a restless activity, and a fickleness of mind, which we meet with in no other people.

The house of Lycurgus had long inherited the throne of Lacedæmon. The two kings who

[z] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 90.

then shared it commanding no respect, Lycurgus appeared in the eyes of the Spartans as the first and most eminent person in the state.[a] As he could rely on his own influence, and on that of his friends, he was less restrained by those considerations which throw a damp on genius and circumscribe the views of a legislator. Solon, a private individual, invested with a transient authority, to be employed with prudence, if he wished to employ it to effect; surrounded by powerful factions, which he was obliged to manage, in order to preserve their confidence; and forewarned by the recent example of Draco, that modes of severity were not suited to the character of the Athenians, was unable to hazard great innovations, without occasioning still greater, and again plunging the state into perhaps irreparable misfortunes.

I do not speak of the personal qualities of the two legislators. Nothing resembles less the genius of Lycurgus than the talents of Solon, nor the vigorous mind of the former than the mild and circumspect character of the latter. Nothing was common to them both, but the ardour with which they laboured, though by different means, to procure the happiness of nations. Should we suppose them to have changed places, Solon would not have effected things so great and sublime as Lycurgus; we

[a] Plut. in Solon. p. 87.

may doubt whether Lycurgus would have performed such beautiful thnigs as Solon.

The latter was sensible of the difficulty of his undertaking; and when asked whether he had given the Athenians the best of all laws, he answered, The best they were capable of bearing.[b] He thus pourtrayed with a single stroke the untractable character of the Athenians, and the fatal constraint under which he laboured.

Solon was obliged to prefer the popular form of government, because the people, recollecting that they had enjoyed it for several ages, would no longer submit to the tyranny of the rich;[c] and because a nation which applies itself to maritime affairs always inclines strongly towards a democracy.[d]

In adopting this form, he so tempered it, as to give the idea of an oligarchy in the body of the Areopagites; of an aristocracy in the mode of electing magistrates; and of a pure democracy in the liberty granted the lowest citizens to have a seat in the tribunals of justice.[e]

This constitution, which partook of the nature of mixed governments, was overthrown by the excess of power in the people, as that of the Persians was by the excess of power in the prince.[f]

[b] Plut. in Solon. p. 86.
[c] Arist. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 336.
[d] Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 7. p. 420.
[e] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 336.
[f] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. p. 693 et 699.

Solon is reproached with having accelerated this corruption, by the law which bestows indiscriminately on all the citizens the right of administering justice, and by appointing them to that important function by way of lot.[g] The consequences of such a privilege were not at first perceived;[h] but, in the end, every one was obliged to conciliate or implore the protection of the people, who filling all the tribunals, possessed the power of interpreting the laws, and disposing at their pleasure of the lives and fortunes of the citizens.

In tracing out the sketch of the system of Solon, I have stated the motives that engaged him to enact the law complained of. I shall here add, first that it is not only adopted, but of great utility in the best constituted democracies;[i] and secondly, that Solon never could presume that the people would abandon their labours for the mere pleasure of deciding the differences of individuals. If they have since taken possession of the tribunals, and thereby increased their authority, the blame must fall on Pericles, who, by assigning an emolument to those who acted as judges,[k] furnished the poorer citizens with a more easy method of subsistence.

[g] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 336.
[h] Plut. in Solon. p. 88.
[i] Arist. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 416.
[k] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 12. p. 336.

It is not in the laws of Solon that we must search for the origin of those defects that have disfigured his work; but in a series of innovations, for the most part unnecessary, and which it was as impossible to foresee as it would be at this day to justify.

After the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, Clisthenes, to gain the favour of the people, divided into ten tribes the original four, which had comprised the inhabitants of Attica from the days of Cecrops;[1] and fifty senators were annually elected by lot from each of them, by which means the number of these magistrates was increased to five hundred.

These ten tribes had each their presidents, their officers of police, their tribunals, their assemblies, and separate interests, like so many little republics. To multiply these, and give them more activity, was to engage all the citizens, without distinction, to intermeddle in public affairs; it was favouring the people, who, besides the right of naming their officers, had the greatest influence in each tribe.

Another consequence was, that the various companies entrusted with the collection and application of the public money were composed of ten officers named by the ten tribes, which, presenting new objects of ambition to the

[1] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 66 et 99. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 418. Plut. in Pericl. p. 153.

people, served to introduce them still further into the different branches of the administration.

But it is principally to the victories gained by the Athenians over the Persians that we must attribute the destruction of the ancient constitution.[m] After the battle of Platæa it was enacted that the citizens of the lowest classes, excluded by Solon from the chief offices of the magistracy, should henceforward possess that privilege. The sage Aristides, who proposed this decree,[n] gave the most fatal of examples to his successors in command. It became necessary for them first to flatter, then servilely to crouch to the multitude.

Formerly they had disdained to attend at the general assemblies; but no sooner did government allow a gratuity of three oboli to every person present,[o] than they repaired thither in crowds, keeping away the rich, as well by their numbers as their fury, and insolently substituting their caprices for the laws.

Pericles, the most dangerous of those leaders who paid court to the multitude, disgusted them with business, and their little remaining virtue, by largesses which exhausted the public treasury, and, among other advantages, facilitated their access to the public spectacles;[p] and, as if

[m] Arist. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. p. 336.
[n] Plut. in Aristid. p. 332.
[o] Pet. in Leg. Att. p. 205.
[p] Plut. in. Pericl. p. 156.

he had conspired the total overthrow of manners in order to accelerate the downfal of the constitution, he reduced the Areopagus to silence, by depriving that court of almost all its privileges.[q]

The precautions which Solon had so wisely taken to guard the great interests of the state against the incongruous measures of an ignorant and mad populace, were then neglected, or had no effect. Let us recollect, that it was the duty of the senate to prepare all public business, previous to its being laid before the assembly of the people; that it was to be discussed only by orators of acknowledged probity, and the first suffrages given by aged men enlightened by experience. These checks, so well calculated to repress the impetuosity of the people, were all annulled by themselves.[r] They would no longer obey any but demagogues who led them astray,[s] and extended so far the limits of their authority, that, ceasing to perceive them, they imagined that they had ceased to exist.

Certain offices of magistracy, heretofore conferred only on upright men, by free election, are now bestowed, by way of chance, on every class of citizens:[t] nay, frequently, without hav-

[q] Plut. in Pericl. p. 155.
[r] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 427.
[s] Arist. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 336.
[t] Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 321.

ing recourse to that, or any other mode of election, individuals find means, by dint of money and intrigues, to obtain employments, and even to procure admission into the order of senators.[u] In fine, the people pronounce in the last resort on several offences, the cognizance of which is either reserved to them by the later decrees of Solon,[x] or which they themselves summon to their tribunal, in contempt of the ordinary course of justice.[y] By this means, the powers which had been to wisely distributed are confounded; and the legislative power, executing its own laws, makes the nation every moment feel, or apprehend, the dreadful weight of oppression.

These destructive vices never would have crept into the constitution, had it not had insurmountable obstacles to overcome. But the usurpation of the Pisistratidæ stopped its progress in the very origin; and its principles were soon after corrupted by the victories over the Persians. To have enabled the constitution to defend itself against similar events, it was necessary that a long peace and the most perfect liberty should have allowed it to operate powerfully on the manners of the Athenians. Without this, all the gifts of genius, united in a legislator, must have been insufficient to prevent

[u] Æschin. in Timar. p. 276. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 437.
[x] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p. 450.
[y] Arist. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 369.

Pisistratus from being the most seducing of mankind, and the Athenians, the people most open to seduction: they could not have prevented the brilliant successes of Marathon, of Salamis, and Platæa, from inspiring with the most extravagant presumption a people more liable to such folly than any other nation in the world.

From the effects produced by the institutions of Solon, we may judge of those which they would have produced in happier circumstances. Confined as they were in their operation under the tyranny of the Pisistratidæ, they acted slowly on the minds of men, either from the advantages of an education common at that time, and which is so no longer;[z] or from the influence of the republican forms, which perpetually cherished the illusion and the hope of liberty. Scarcely were those princes banished, before the democracy was re-established of itself, and the Athenians displayed a character of which they had never hitherto been suspected. From this epoch to that of their corruption, only about half a century elapsed; but virtue and the laws were still respected in the happy period: the wisest men never speak of it but with eulogies, accompanied with regret; and can discover no other remedy for the evils of the state, but the revival of the government of Solon.[a]

[z] Arist. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 449.
[a] Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 319. Æsch. in Ctesiph. p. 427.

SECT. II.

AGE OF THEMISTOCLES AND ARISTIDES.*

It is with pain that I prevail on myself to describe campaigns and battles; it should suffice to know, that wars originate in the ambition of princes, and terminate in the misery of nations: but the example of a people preferring death to servitude is too sublime, and too instructive, to be passed over in silence.

Cyrus had lately raised the Persian power on the ruins of the empires of Babylon and Lydia; he had received the submission of Arabia, of Egypt, and the most distant nations;[b] and his son Cambyses had subjected Cyrenaica, and many countries of Africa.[c]

After the death of the latter prince, some Persian nobles, to the number of seven, having put to death one of the magi who had usurped the throne, assembled in order to settle the government of this extensive empire.[d] Othanes proposed to restore liberty, and establish a general democracy; Megabyzus extolled the ad-

* From the year 490 to about 444 before Christ.
[b] Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 1. p. 2; lib. 8. p. 230.
[c] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 7, 13, &c.
[d] Id. lib. 3. cap. 80.

vantages of aristocracy; Darius, son of Hystaspes, declared himself for the constitution which had hitherto secured the happiness and glory of the Persians. The opinion of the latter prevailed; and chance, to which it was agreed to submit the choice of a sovereign, deciding, by his artifices, in his favour, he found himself the undisturbed possessor of the most powerful empire in the world, and, after the example of the ancient monarchs of the Assyrians, assumed the title of the great king, and that of king of kings.*

Advanced to this exalted station, he still knew to respect the laws, discern merit, receive counsel, and acquire friends. Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, was the friend whom he loved with the most tenderness. Some person having taken the liberty to propose one day the following question to Darius, who held a pomegranate in his hand: "What good is there you would wish to multiply as often as that fruit contains seeds?" "Such friends as Zopyrus," replied the king without hesitation.[e] This answer threw Zopyrus into one of those paroxysms of zeal which can be justified only by the sentiment that gives them birth.†

* The year 521 before Christ.

[e] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 173.

† According to Herodotus, (lib. 4. cap. 143.) Darius did not name Zopyrus, but Megabyzus, father of that young Persian.

Darius had been besieging Babylon, which had revolted, during nineteen months,[f] and was on the point of abandoning his enterprise, when Zopyrus appeared in his presence, without nose or ears, and with every part of his body mutilated and covered with wounds. "What barbarous hand has reduced you to this pitiable condition?" exclaimed the king, running towards him. "It is my own act," replied Zopyrus. "I am going to Babylon, where my name and the rank I hold in your court are well known: I will accuse you of having punished, by the most undeserved and odious cruelties, the advice which I gave you to retire from before the city. A body of troops will be entrusted to my command; you will sacrifice some of yours, and facilitate successes which will more and more gain me the confidence of the enemy; I shall be able to make myself master of the gates, and Babylon shall be yours!" Darius was filled with grief and admiration. The project of Zopyrus succeeded. His friend loaded him with caresses and bounties: but often said; I would have given a hundred Babylons to have saved Zopyrus from so barbarous a treatment.[g]

From this sensibility, so amiable in an individual, so precious in a sovereign, resulted that clemency which the vanquished so often expe-

[f] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 151.
[g] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 173.

rienced on the part of this prince, and the gratitude with which he rewarded, with kingly munificence, the services that he had received as an individual.[h] Hence originated likewise that moderation which shone forth in the most rigorous acts of his authority. Before his time the revenues of the crown consisted only in the voluntary offerings of his subjects; offerings received by Cyrus with the tenderness of a father, but exacted by Cambyses with the haughtiness of a master;[i] and which in future the sovereign might have multiplied at his pleasure. Darius divided his kingdom into twenty governments or satrapies, and submitted the quota of contributions which he proposed to draw from each province to the examination of the persons placed over them. All these governors exclaimed against the smallness of the tributes. But the king, distrustful of their counsel, reduced them to the half.[k]

The various parts of the administration were regulated by wise laws,[l] which maintained that harmony and peace among the Persians which support a state; and individuals found, in the security of their rights and possessions, the only equality they can possibly enjoy in a monarchy.

Darius rendered his reign illustrious by useful

[h] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 140.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 89.
[k] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 172.
[l] Plat. de Legib. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 695.

institutions, and tarnished it by conquests. Born with military talents, idolized by his troops,[m] intrepidly courageous in the time of action, but cool and unruffled in the moment of danger,[n] he subdued almost as many nations as Cyrus himself.[o]

His forces, his victories, and that flattery which constantly waits on thrones, persuaded him, that a word from him ought to compel the homage of nations; and as he was as capable of executing as of forming great projects, he might defer, but never totally abandoned them.

As my subject led me to speak of the immense resources he possessed to add Greece to the number of his conquests, it was necessary to premise some features of his character; for a sovereign is still more powerful by his personal qualities than by his power.

The power of the Persian monarch was almost unlimited. His empire, the extent of which in certain places is about 21,164 stadia* from east to west, and about 7,936† from north to south, may contain in surperficies 115,618,000 square stadia;‡ whilst the surface of Greece, consisting at the most of 1,366,000 square stadia,§

[m] Plat. de Legib. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 695.
[n] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 172.
[o] Id. ibid.
* 800 French leagues of 2500 toises each.
† 300 leagues.
‡ 165,200 square leagues.
§ 1,952 square leagues. *(Manuscript note of M. d'Anville.)*

forms but the 115th part of that of Persia. The latter comprises a number of provinces situate under the happiest climate, fertilised by vast rivers, adorned by flourishing cities, rich from the nature of the soil,[p] the industry of the inhabitants, the activity of commerce, and a population favoured at once by religion, the laws, and rewards assigned to fecundity.

The taxes levied in money[q] amounted to something more than 14,560 Eubœic talents.* These were not intended to defray the current expences;† but converted into ingots,[r] and reserved for extraordinary occasions. The provinces were called upon for the maintenance of the royal household, and the subsistence of the armies:[s] some furnished corn,[t] others horses;[u] Armenia alone was charged with an annual supply of twenty thousand colts.[x] Other satrapies contributed flocks of cattle, wool, ebony, elephants' teeth, and various kinds of productions.[y]

Troops dispersed over the provinces retained them in obedience, or secured them against in-

[p] Xenophon de Exped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 296. Arrian. Hist. Indic. p. 355.

[q] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 95.

* About 90 millions of livres (or £. 3,750,000 sterling)

† See note V. at the end of the volume.

[r] Herodot. ibid. cap. 96.

[s] Id. lib. 1. cap. 192.

[t] Id. lib. 3. cap. 91.

[u] Id. ibid. cap. 90.

[x] Strab. lib. 11. p. 530.

[y] Herodot. ibid. cap. 97. Strab. lib. 15. p. 735.

vasion.[z] Another army, composed of the best soldiers, watched over the personal safety of the prince: among them stood particularly distinguished a body of ten thousand men, called the immortals, as their number was always intended to be complete:[a] no other corps dared to dispute with them either the honour of precedency or the reward of valour.

Cyrus had introduced a discipline into the armies,[b] which his first successors carefully maintained. Every year the sovereign ordered a general review, and made himself exactly acquainted with the state of the troops near his person. Intelligent and faithful inspectors were sent to exercise the same functions at a distance. The officers who fulfilled their duty obtained rewards; and those who were found guilty of negligence were deprived of their command[c].

The nation of the Persians, the first nation of the East, since it had produced Cyrus, considered valour as the most eminent of qualities,[d] and consequently esteemed it in its enemies.[e] To brave the rigour of the seasons, to endure

[z] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 90, 91. Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 8. p. 230.

[a] Id. lib. 7. cap. 83. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 7. Hesyc. et Suid. in Αθαν.

[b] Xenoph. Cycrop. lib. 8. p. 225.

[c] Id Œcon. p. 828.

[d] Herodot. lib. 1 cap. 136.

[e] Id. lib. 7. cap. 181.

long and arduous marches, to cast the javelin, to swim torrents, were infant sports with the Persians;[f] to which, in a more advanced age, they added the chace, and other exercises conducive to bodily strength.[g] In peace they appeared with part of the arms usually borne in war;[h] and, not to lose the habit of riding on horseback, they scarcely ever went on foot.[i] These manners insensibly became those of the whole empire.

The principal strength of the Persian armies consists in their cavalry. Even in their flight they let fly their arrows, which arrest the impetuosity of the victor.[k] Both horse and horsemen are covered with brass and iron:[l] Media furnishes horses famous for their size, strength, and speed.[m]

At the age of twenty, every man is obliged to enrol his name in the militia; he ceases to serve at fifty.[n] At the first command of the sovereign, all who are appointed to make the campaign must, within a limited time, repair to the place of rendezvous. The laws in this respect are dreadfully severe. Unhappy fathers

f Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 181. Strab. lib. 15. p. 733.

g Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 1. p. 5.

h Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. t. i. p. 874. Marcellin. lib. 23. p. 383. i Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 4. p. 102; lib. 8. p. 241.

k Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. lib. 3. p. 306. Plut. in Crass. t. i. p. 558.

l Brisson. de Reg. Pers. lib. 3. cap. 33, &c.

m Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 106. Id. lib. 7. cap. 40. Arrian. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 77. Brisson. ibid. cap. 29.

n Strab. lib. 15. p. 734.

have sometimes requested, as a reward for their past services, to retain their children with them at home, as the support of their old age: I will dispense with their accompanying me, replied the monarch, and immediately ordered them to be put to death.[o]

The eastern kings never march on any expedition without being attended by prodigious armies. They think it essential to their dignity to show themselves on these occasions with all the pageantry of state. They imagine that victory is decided by the number of soldiers, and that, by collecting the greatest part of their forces about their person, they shall prevent any disturbances that might happen during their absence. But if these armies do not carry all before them, by the sudden terror they inspire, or by the first shock of their attack, they are soon compelled to retire, either from the want of subsistence, or the discouragement of the troops; for which reason we often see the wars of Asia terminate in a single campaign, and the fate of an empire depend on the issue of a battle.

The kings of Persia enjoy an absolute authority, secured by the respect of nations accustomed to venerate them as living images of the divinity.[p] Their birth is a day of festivity;[q] and at their death, emblematically to signify

[o] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 84; lib. 7. cap. 39. Senec. De Irâ, lib. 3. cap. 16 et 17.
[p] Plut. in. Themistocl. p. 125.
[q] Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 121.

that the world has lost the principle of light and laws, the sacred fire is extinguished, and the tribunals of justice are shut.[r] During their reign, individuals offer no sacrifices, without addressing their vows to Heaven for the sovereign as well as for the nation. All, without excepting the tributary princes, the governors of provinces, and the nobles residing at the porte (or gate),* call themselves the slaves of the king; a term at this day expressive of extreme servitude, but which, in the days of Cyrus and Darius, was only a testimonial of loyal affection and zeal.

Until the reign of the latter of these princes the Persians had no motives of difference with the nations of the Grecian continent. Scarcely did the court of Susa know that such cities as Lacedæmon or Athens existed,[s] when Darius resolved to subjugate those distant countries. Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, whom he had lately married, gave him the first idea of this expedition, which she had received from a Greek physician named Democedes, who had cured her of a dangerous disorder. Democedes, unable to procure his liberty by other means,

[r] Diodor. Sicul. lib. 17. p. 580. Stob. Serm. 42. p. 294. Brisson. de Reg. Pers. p. 54.

* By this word was signified, in Persia, the court of the king, or of the governor of a province. Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 8. p. 201, 203, &c. Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 294.

[s] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 153; lib. 5. cap. 73. et 105.

formed the project of an invasion of Greece. He persuaded the queen to approve his plan, and flattered himself, that, by obtaining a commission, he should facilitate the means of visiting Croton, his native country.

Atossa, taking advantage of a moment in which Darius was expressing his affection for her, thus addressed him: It is time to signalize your accession to the crown, by an enterprise which shall acquire you the esteem of your subjects.[t] The Persians must have a conqueror for their sovereign. Employ their restless ardour against foreign nations, if you would not that they should direct it against yourself." Darius replied, that he proposed to make war against the Scythians. "The Scythians," replied the queen, "will be an easy conquest whenever you think proper. I wish you to turn your arms against Greece, and to bring me some women of Lacedæmon, of Argos, of Corinth, and of Athens, to wait my commands." From that moment Darius suspended his project against the Scythians, and sent Democedes with five Persians to bring him an exact description of the country of which he meditated the conquest.

No sooner had Democedes quitted the dominions of Darius, than he fled to Italy. The Persians, of whom he was to be the guide, suf-

[t] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 134.

fered various misfortunes, and when they returned to Susa, the queen was cooled in the desire of having Greek slaves, and Darius was occupied with more important cares.

The king, having reduced the city of Babylon to obedience, resolved to march against the nations of Scythia,* who encamp with their flocks and herds between the Ister† and the Tanaïs,‡ on the borders of the Euxine Sea.

He began his march at the head of seven hundred thousand soldiers,[u] to impose servitude on a people who, to ruin his army, had only to draw it into uncultivated and desert countries. Darius persisted in following them, and ran over extensive solitudes as a victor. "And why fliest thou at my approach?" sent he one day to ask of the king of the Scythians. "If thou art able to resist me, stop, and bravely fight; if thou darest not, acknowledge thy master." The king of the Scythians replied; "I neither fly, nor fear any man. It is our custom to wander quietly over our vast domains, during war, as well as in time of peace. We know no blessing but liberty, and acknowledge no masters but the gods. If thou wouldst prove our valour, follow us, and come and insult the tombs of our ancestors."[x]

* The year 508 before Christ.
† The Danube.
‡ The Don.
u Justin. lib. 2. cap. 5.
x Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 127.

In the mean time the army was enfeebled by sickness, the want of provisions, and the difficulty of the marches. It became necessary to resolve on regaining the bridge which Darius had thrown over the Ister, the guard of which he had entrusted to the Greeks of Iönia, with a permission to retire home, if they did not see him return within two months.[y] When this time had expired, several bodies of Scythians appeared more than once on the banks of the river:[z] at first they employed entreaties, and afterwards had recourse to menaces, to induce the officers of the fleet to carry it back to Iönia. Miltiades the Athenian strongly recommended this measure; but Histiæus of Miletus, representing[a] to the other chiefs, that, appointed as they had been by Darius, governors of the different cities of Iönia, they would be reduced to the condition of simple individuals were they to suffer the king to perish; they promised the Scythians to break down the bridge, but determined to remain. This determination saved Darius and his army.

The disgrace of the Scythian expedition was soon effaced by an important conquest. The king obliged the nations inhabiting the banks of the Indus to acknowledge themselves his sub-

[y] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 98.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 133.
[a] Id. ibid. Nep. in Miltiad. cap. 3.

jects; and that river became the limits of his empire on the east.[b]

On the west it was bounded by a series of Greek colonies settled on the coasts of the Ægean Sea. There stood Ephesus, Miletus, Smyrna, and several flourishing cities, associated in different confederations. These are separated from the continent of Greece by the sea, and a number of islands, some of which were subject to the Athenians, and others independent. The Grecian cities of Asia aspired to shake off the Persian yoke; while the inhabitants of the islands, and of Greece, properly so called, dreaded the vicinity of a power which menaced the nations with general servitude.

These fears were greatly increased when they saw Darius, at his return from Scythia, leave an army of eighty thousand men in Thrace, which subjected that kingdom,[c] obliged the king of Macedonia to do homage to Darius for his crown,[d] and took possession of the isles of Lemnos and Imbros.[e]

Still more were they alarmed when they saw the Persians make an attempt upon the isle of Naxos, and threaten the island of Eubœa, contiguous to Attica.[f] The cities of Iönia, now

[b] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 44.
[c] Id. lib. 5. cap. 2.
[d] Id. ibid. cap. 18.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 26.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 31.

resolved to endeavour the recovery of their ancient liberty, expelled their governors,[g] burnt the city of Sardes, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Lydia,[h] and drew the people of Caria and the isle of Cyprus into the league they formed against Darius.[i] This revolt * was in fact the seed of those wars which were on the point of effecting the utter destruction of all the powers of Greece, and which, one hundred and fifty years after, overthrew the Persian empire.

The Lacedæmonians refused to accede to the league; the Athenians, without openly declaring themselves, determined to favour it. The king of Persia no longer dissembled his desire to extend the boundaries of his empire on their side. They owed to the greatest part of the cities which had recently withdrawn themselves from their obedience to him the assistance due from a mother-country to her colonies: they had long complained of the protection granted by the Persians to Hippias, son of Pisistratus, whom they had banished for his tyranny. Artaphernes, the brother of Darius, and satrap of Lydia, had declared to them, that the only method of providing for their safety was to recall Hippias;[k] and they knew that the latter, since

[g] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 37.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 102. [i] Id. ibid. cap. 103.
* About the year 504 before Christ.
[k] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 96.

his arrival at the court of Susa, fomented in the mind of Darius those prejudices which were continually instilled into him against the nations of Greece, and in particular against the Athenians.[l] Actuated by these motives, the Athenians sent troops into Iönia, which assisted in the taking of Sardes. Their example was followed by the Eretrians of Eubœa.

The principal author of the insurrection in Iönia was that Histiæus of Miletus, who, in the Scythian expedition, had persisted in guarding the bridge over the Ister—an important service which Darius never forgot, but remembered even after he had rewarded it.

But Histiæus, considering himself as an exile at the court of Susa, and impatient to revisit his country, secretly excited the troubles of Iönia, and made use of them to obtain permission to return into that province, where he was soon after taken in arms. The generals lost no time in putting him to death, knowing as they did the generosity of their master; and in fact that prince, less irritated at his treachery than impressed with a sense of the obligations he owed to him, honoured his memory by funeral obsequies, and severely censured his generals for their hasty sentence.[m]

About the same time some Phœnician vessels,

[l] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 96.
[m] Id. lib. 6. cap. 30.

having taken an Athenian galley, found in it Metiochus, son of that Miltiades who had advised the breaking of the bridge over the Ister, by which Darius would have been abandoned to the fury of the Scythians: they sent him to the king, who received him with distinction, and engaged him by his bounties to take up his residence in Persia.[n]

Not that Darius was insensible to the revolt of the Iönians and the conduct of the Athenians. On being informed of the burning of Sardes, he vowed to take exemplary vengeance on the latter people; and charged one of his officers daily to remind him of the injury he had received from them;[o] but it was first necessary to conclude the war excited against him by the former. It continued during several years, and ended greatly to the advantage of the Persians. Iönia was again reduced to obedience, and several islands of the Ægean Sea, and all the cities of the Hellespont submitted to the king.[p]

Mardonius, the son-in-law of Darius, immediately departed at the head of a powerful army, and, having completely re-established tranquillity in Iönia, repaired into Macedonia, and there, whether anticipating the orders of Darius, or merely obeying them, he embarked

[n] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 41.
[o] Id. lib. 5. cap. 105.
[p] Id. lib. 6. cap. 31 et 33.

his troops. His pretext was to punish the Athenians and Eretrians; his real object to render all Greece tributary:[q] but a violent tempest having dashed part of his vessels and soldiers on the rocks of Mount Athos, he returned to Macedonia, and soon after to Susa.

This disaster was not such as to divert the storm then impending over Greece. Darius, previous to proceeding to an open rupture, sent heralds to the different countries he had determined to invade, to demand, in his name, earth and water[r]—which is the formulary employed by the Persians to exact the homage of nations. The greater part of the islands and states of the continent submitted without hesitation: the Athenians and Lacedæmonians not only refused, but, by a manifest violation of the laws of nations, threw the ambassadors of the king into a deep dungeon.[s] The former carried their indignation still further: they condemned the interpreter to die, who had sullied the Greek language, by explaining the orders of a barbarian.[t]

On this intelligence, Darius gave the command of his forces to a Mede named Datis, who had more experience than Mardonius, or-

q Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 44.
r Id. ibid. cap. 48.
s Id. lib. 7. cap. 32.
t Plut. in Them. p. 114. Aristid. Panath. Orat. t. i. p. 211.

dering him to destroy the cities of Athens Eretria, and to bring him the inhabitants bound in chains.[u]

The army presently assembled in a plain of Cilicia; whence it was transported by six hundred vessels into the island of Eubœa. The city of Eretria, after a vigorous defence of six days, was taken by the treachery of some citizens who had influence over the people.[x] The temples were demolished; the inhabitants loaded with chains; and the fleet immediately making a descent upon the coast of Attica, landed, near the village of Marathon, about one hundred and forty stadia* from Athens, a hundred thousand infantry, and ten thousand cavalry:[y] they encamped in a plain terminated toward the east by the sea, shut in by mountains on every other side, and about two hundred stadia in circumference.†

In the mean time Athens was in the utmost consternation and dismay.[z] She had implored the assistance of the other states of Greece: but some had submitted to Darius, and others trembled at the very name of the Medes or Persians.[a] The Lacedæmonians alone pro-

u Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 94.
x Id. ibid. cap. 101.
* Nearly six leagues.
y Nep. in Miltiad. cap. 5.
† About seven leagues and a half.
z Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698.
a Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 112.

mised troops, but various obstacles did not allow them immediately to form a junction with those of Athens.[b]

This city, therefore, could only rely on its own strength. And how could she, with a few soldiers hastily levied, dare to resist a power, which, in the space of half a century, had overthrown the greatest empires of the world? Though by the sacrifice of her most illustrious citizens, and her bravest warriors, she should obtain the honour of disputing, for some time, the victory, would she not soon see armies more formidable than the first issue from the Asiatic coasts, and from the heart of Persia? The Greeks have irritated Darius, and, by adding insult to their offence, have left him no choice but vengeance, dishonour, or a pardon. Would the homage he requires involve an humiliating servitude? Do not the Grecian colonies established in his states retain their laws, their religious worship, and their possessions? Has he not after their revolt obliged them, by the wisest regulations, to unite among themselves, and to be happy in despite of their dissensions? And has not Mardonius himself recently established the democracy in the cities of Iönia?[c]

These reflections, which induced the nations

[b] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 106. Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698. Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 861.

[c] Herodot. ibid. cap. 42 et 43.

of Greece in general to declare in favour of the Persians, were counterbalanced, in the minds of the Athenians, by not less weighty apprehensions. The general of Darius with one hand held out the fetters with which he had orders to enchain them,[d] and with the other presented them that Hippias, whose solicitations and intrigues had at length conducted the Persians into the plains of Marathon.[e] They must resolve therefore to submit to the wretched indignity of being dragged like vile slaves to the feet of Darius, or to the still more dreadful fate of again groaning under the cruelties of a tyrant breathing nothing but vengeance. In this alternative scarcely did they deliberate, but resolved to perish at least in arms.

Happily at this time there appeared three men, destined to give new energy to the state. These were Miltiades, Aristides, and Themistocles. Their characters will best display themselves in the narrative of their actions. Miltiades had long carried on war in Thrace, where he had acquired a splendid reputation; Aristides, and Themistocles, younger than Miltiades, had from their infancy manifested a rivalry which would have been the ruin of the state,[f] had they not sacrificed it, on all emergent occasions, to the public welfare. A single stroke is suf-

[d] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698.
[e] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 102.
[f] Plut. in Aristid. p. 319.

ficient to paint Aristides; he was the most just and most virtuous of the Athenians: but many are necessary to describe the talents, the resources, and the views of Themistocles; he loved his country, but he loved glory still more than his country.

The example and harangues of these three illustrious citizens kindled the flame of the noblest heroism in the minds of the Athenians. Levies were immediately made. Each of the ten tribes furnished a thousand foot soldiers, with a commander at their head. To complete this number, it was necessary to enrol the slaves.[g] No sooner were the troops assembled, than they marched out of the city into the plain of Marathon, where the inhabitants of Platæa in Bœotia sent them a reinforcement of a thousand infantry.[h]

Scarcely were the two armies in sight of each other, than Miltiades proposed to attack the enemy.[i] Aristides and several of the commanders warmly supported this measure: but the rest, terrified at the excessive disproportion of the armies, were desirous of waiting for the succours from Lacedæmon. Opinions being divided, they had recourse to that of the polemarch, or chief of the militia, who is consulted on such occasions, to put an end to the equality

[g] Pausan. lib. 1. p. 79.
[h] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 108. Justin. lib. 2. cap. 9.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 109. Plut. in Aristid. p. 321.

of suffrages. Miltiades addressed him with the ardour of a man deeply impressed with the importance of present circumstances: "Athens," said he, "is on the point of experiencing the greatest of vicissitudes. Ready to become the first power of Greece, or the theatre of the tyranny and fury of Hippias, from you alone, Callimachus, she now awaits her destiny. If we suffer the ardour of the troops to cool, they will shamefully bow beneath the Persian yoke; but if we lead them on to battle, the gods and victory will favour us. A word from your mouth must now precipitate your country into slavery, or preserve her liberty."

Callimachus gave his suffrage, and the battle was resolved. To ensure success, Aristides, and the other generals after his example, yielded to Miltiades the honour of the command, which belonged to them in rotation: but, to secure them from all chance of blame, he preferred waiting for the day which of right placed him at the head of the army.[k]

When that day arrived, Miltiades drew up his troops at the foot of a mountain,* on a spot of ground scattered over with trees, where the Persian cavalry could not act. The Platæans were placed on the left wing; Callimachus commanded the right; Aristides and Themistocles

[k] Herodot. lib. 6. p. 110. Plut. in Aristid. p. 321.
* See the plan of the battle of Marathon.

were in the centre of the battle,[l] and Miltiades every where. An interval of eight stadia* separated the Grecian army from that of the Persians.[m]

At the first signal the Greeks advanced over this space running. The Persians, astonished at a mode of attack so novel to both nations, for a moment remained motionless; but to the impetuous fury of the enemy they soon opposed a fury more sedate and not less formidable. After an obstinate conflict of some hours, victory began to declare herself in the two wings of the Grecian army. The right dispersed the enemy in the plain, while the left drove them back on a morass that had the appearance of a meadow, in which they stuck fast and were lost.[n] Both these bodies of troops now flew to the succour of Aristides and Themistocles, ready to give way before the flower of the Persian troops, placed by Datis in the centre of his battle. From this moment the rout became general. The Persians, repulsed on all sides, found their only asylum in the fleet which had approached the shore. The conquerors pursued them with fire and sword, and took, burnt, or sunk, the greater part of

[l] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 110. Nep. in Miltiad. cap. 5.
* Nearly a mile.
[m] Herodot. ibid. cap. 112.
[n] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 32. p. 80.

their vessels: the rest escaped by dint of rowing.[o]

The Persian army lost about six thousand four hundred men; that of the Athenians one hundred and ninety-two heroes,[p]—for not a man was there but merited that title on this occasion. Miltiades was wounded. Hippias was left dead on the field, as were Stesileus and Callimachus, two of the Athenian generals.[q]

Scarcely was the battle over, when a soldier, exhausted with fatigue, forms the project of carrying the first news of so signal a success to the magistrates of Athens; and without quitting his arms, he runs, flies, arrives, announces the victory, and falls dead at their feet.[r]

This victory nevertheless would have proved fatal to the Greeks, but for the activity of Miltiades. Datis, in his retreat, had conceived the hope of surprising Athens, which he imagined to be without defence, and his fleet had already doubled the promontory of Sunium. No sooner was Miltiades informed of this, than he began his march, arrived the same day under the walls of the city, by his presence disconcerted the projects of the enemy, and obliged them to retire to the coasts of Asia.[s]

[o] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 115. Justin. lib. 2. cap. 9.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 117.
[q] Id. ibid. cap. 114.
[r] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 347.
[s] Herodot. ibid. cap. 116.

The battle was fought[t] on the 6th of Boë-dromion, in the third year of the seventy-second Olympiad.* The next day two thousand Spartans arrived. In three days and nights[u] they had marched twelve hundred stadia.† Though informed of the defeat of the Persians, they continued their march to Marathon; nor did they enviously shun to behold those fields where a rival nation had signalized itself by so heroic an action. There they beheld the tents of the Persians still standing, the plain strewed over with dead, and covered with costly spoils: there they found Aristides, who with his tribe was guarding the prisoners and booty, and did not retire until they had bestowed just applause on the victors.[x]

The Athenians neglected nothing to eternize the memory of those who fell in the battle. Honourable funerals were bestowed on them; their names were engraven on half columns erected on the plain of Marathon. These monuments, not excepting those of the generals Callimachus and Stesileus, are in a style of the greatest simplicity.[y] In the intervals between

[t] Corsin. Fast. Att. t. iii. p. 149.

* The 29th of September, in the year 490 before Christ.

[u] Isocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 163. Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698.

† About 46 leagues and a half.

[x] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 120. Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 321. Id. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 861.

[y] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 32. p. 79.

them were erected trophies bearing the arms of the Persians. An artist of eminence had painted all the circumstances of the battle, in one of the most frequented porticoes of the city: Miltiades was there represented at the head of the generals, and in the act of exhorting the troops to fight for their country.[z]

Darius received the news of the defeat of his army with indignation; and every one trembled for the fate of the Eretrians, whom Datis was conducting to his feet. But no sooner did he behold them than pity superseded every other sentiment in his heart:[a] he distributed lands among them at some distance from Susa; and, to avenge himself of the Greeks in a manner more noble and more worthy of himself, immediately ordered fresh levies, and made immense preparations.

The Athenians themselves were not long before they revenged his disgrace on their general. They had raised Miltiades so high that he began to be the object of their fear. Jealousy suggested, that, during his command in Thrace, he had exercised all the rights of sovereignty;[b] that, formidable as he was to foreign nations, and idolized by the Athenian people, it was time to keep a vigilant eye on his virtues as

[z] Nep. in Milt. cap. 6.
[a] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 119.
[b] Nep. in Milt. cap. 8.

well as his glory. The ill success of an expedition which he had undertaken against the Isle of Paros furnished a new pretext to the hatred of his enemies. He was accused of suffering himself to be corrupted by Persian money, and, notwithstanding the solicitations and remonstrances of the most virtuous citizens, was condemned to be thrown into the dungeon in which malefactors are left to perish.[c] The magistracy opposing the execution of this infamous decree, his punishment was commuted into a fine of fifty talents;* and as he was unable to pay this sum, Athens saw the vanquisher of Darius expire in chains, of the wounds he had received in the service of the state.[d]

These dreadful examples of injustice and ingratitude on the part of a sovereign or a nation discouraged neither ambition nor virtue. They are shoals in the track of honour, like rocks in the midst of the ocean. Themistocles and Aristides assumed over the Athenians that superiority which the one merited by the diversity of his talents, and the other by the uniformity of a conduct wholly devoted to the public good. The former, tormented night and day by the recollection of the trophies of Miltiades,[e] was continually flattering by new decrees the

[c] Plat. in Gorg. t. II. p. 516.
* 270,000 livres (11,250*l.*).
[d] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 136. Nep. in Milt. cap. 7.
[e] Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 113.

pride of a people intoxicated with their victory; the latter employed himself only in maintaining the laws and manners, to which they were indebted for it. These two men, diametrically opposite in their principles and projects, so filled the place of assembly with their dissensions, that Aristides, after having one day, contrary to all reason, gained an advantage over his adversary, could not refrain from saying, that the republic must be ruined if both Themistocles and himself were not thrown into a dungeon.[f]

Talents and intrigue at length triumphed over virtue. As Aristides offered himself as the arbitrator of the differences between individuals, the reputation of his justice caused the tribunals to be almost deserted. The faction of Themistocles accused him of erecting in his own person a sovereign power, the more dangerous, as it was founded on the love of the people, and called for the punishment of exile. The tribes assembled, and were to give their suffrages in writing. Aristides was present while they voted; when an obscure citizen, seated beside him, desired him to write the name of the accused on a small shell, which he presented for that purpose. "Has he done you any injury?" said Aristides. "No," answered this stranger, "but I am disgusted with hearing him every where called *the Just*." Aristides wrote his name,

[f] Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 320.

was condemned, and departed from the city, offering up prayers for the prosperity of his country.[g]

His banishment took place shortly after the death of Darius. That prince at once menaced Greece which had refused to submit to the Persian yoke, and Egypt which had shaken it off.[h] His son Xerxes was heir to his throne,* without inheriting any of his great qualities. Educated in a high opinion of his power, just and beneficent by sallies, unjust and cruel from weakness, almost always incapable of bearing with moderation either success or the reverse of fortune, the only distinctive features that constantly marked his character were extreme violence[i] and excessive pusillanimity.

After punishing the Egyptians for their revolt, and foolishly aggravating the weight of their chains,[k] he would perhaps have peaceably enjoyed his vengeance, but for one of those base courtiers who sacrifice, without remorse, the blood of thousands to their own private interests. Mardonius, whom the honour of espousing the sister of his master[l] had inspired with the most extravagant pretensions, wished to command armies to efface the dishonour which

[g] Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 322. Nep. in Aristid. cap. 1.
[h] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 1.
* The year 485 before Christ.
[i] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698.
[k] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 7. [l] Id. lib. 6. cap. 43.

he had suffered in his former expedition, and bring Greece under subjection, that he might become its governor, and indulge his love of rapine. He easily persuaded Xerxes to undertake the uniting of that country and the rest of Europe to the empire of the Persians.[m] War was determined on, and all Asia thrown into commotion.

To the prodigious preparations made by Darius were added others still more tremendous. Four years[n] were employed in levying troops, forming magazines on the road the army was to pass, conveying to the sea-coasts warlike stores and provisions, and building galleys and transport-vessels in all the ports.

At length the king departed from Susa, persuaded that he was about to extend the limits of his empire, even to those climes where the sun finishes his course.[o] No sooner had he reached Sardes in Lydia, than he sent heralds through all Greece, except to the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. Their commission was to receive the homage of the islands and the nations of the continent, many of which submitted to the Persians.[p]

In the spring of the fourth year of the seventy-fourth Olympiad,* Xerxes repaired to the

[m] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 5. Diodor. Sicul. lib. 11. p. 1.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 20. [o] Id. ibid. cap. 8.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 32. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 2.
* The year 480 before Christ.

shores of the Hellespont, with the most numerous army that ever had laid waste the earth.[q] He there wished to contemplate at one view the spectacle of his power; and from a lofty throne beheld the sea covered with his ships, and the land overspread with his army.[r]

The coast of Asia at this placc is separated from that of Europe[s] only by an arm of the sea, seven stadia in breadth.* Two bridges of boats, secured by anchors, joined the opposite shores. The building of these had been at first entrusted to some Egyptians and Phœnicians. A violent tempest having destroyed their work, Xerxes ordered the heads of the workmen to be struck off; and treating the sea as a revolted slave, commanded it to be scourged, marked with a hot iron, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it:[t] yet was this prince followed by several millions of men!

His troops employed seven days and nights in passing the strait;[u] his baggage a whole month.[x] Thence taking his course by Thrace, and coasting along the sea,[y] he arrived in the plain of Doriscus, watered by the Hebrus; a convenient

[q] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 20.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 44.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 34. Æschyl. in Pers. v. 747.
* See note VI. at the end of the volume.
[t] Herodot. ibid. cap. 35.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 56.
[x] Id. lib. 8. cap. 51.
[y] Id. lib. 7. cap. 59.

situation, not only to afford repose and refreshments to his soldiers, but to facilitate the mustering and review of the army.

This was found to consist of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and eighty thousand horse.[z] Twenty thousand Arabs and Libyans conducted the camels and the waggons. Xerxes, mounted on a car, passed through all the ranks. He next went on board the fleet, which had approached the shore, and was composed of twelve hundred and seven galleys with three benches of oars.[a] Each of them would contain two hundred men, and the whole together two hundred and forty-one thousand four hundred men. They were accompanied by three thousand transport-vessels, in which it may be presumed there were two hundred and forty thousand more.

Such were the forces which he had brought from Asia; and these were soon augmented by three hundred thousand fighting men from Thrace, Macedonia, Pæonia, and other European countries which had submitted to the Persian power. The neighbouring islands furnished upwards of a hundred and twenty galleys, containing twenty-four thousand men.[b] If to this immense multitude we add an almost equal number of necessary or useless hands, who followed the army,

[z] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 60 et 87.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 100 et 184. Isocr. Panegyr. t. i. p. 166.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 185.

we shall find that five millions of men[c] had been torn from their native homes, and were preparing to destroy whole nations, to gratify the ambition of an individual named Mardonius.

After the review of the army and the fleet, Xerxes sent for king Demaratus, who, having been exiled some years before from Lacedæmon, had found an asylum at the court of Susa.

"Do you imagine," said he, "that the Greeks will dare to resist my forces?"[d] Demaratus having obtained permission to speak the truth, replied: "The Greeks are to be feared, because they are poor and virtuous. Without pronouncing the eulogium of the other states, I shall only speak to you of the Lacedæmonians. They will scorn the idea of slavery. Though all the rest of Greece should submit to your arms, they will be but the more ardent in defence of their liberty. Inquire not the number of their troops; were they but a single thousand, nay, were they still fewer, they would present themselves to the combat!"

The Persian king, at hearing this, laughed aloud; and, after comparing his forces with those of the Lacedæmonians, "Do you not see," added he, "that the greatest part of my soldiers would take to flight were they not retained by menaces and blows? As a similar

[c] Isocr. Panath t. ii. p. 205.
[d] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 101.

dread cannot operate on those Spartans, who are represented to us as so free and independent, it is evident that they will never unnecessarily brave certain death: and what is there to constrain them to it?"—"The law," replied Demaratus; "that law, which has more power over them than you have over your subjects; that law, which saith to them, Behold your enemies; the question is not to number them; you must conquer or die."[e]

At these words the laughter of Xerxes redoubled. He gave his orders, and the army began its march, divided into three bodies, one of which followed the sea-shore, while the two others proceeded, at stated distances, through the interior part of the country.[f] The measures that had been adopted procured them certain means of subsistence. Three thousand vessels laden with provisions sailed along the coast, regulating their motions by those of the army. The Egyptians and Phœnicians had previously stored many of the maritime towns of Thrace and Macedonia;[g] and the Persians, at every station, were fed and provided with every thing by the inhabitants of the adjacent countries, who, long apprised of their arrival, were prepared for their reception.[h]

[e] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 104.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 121.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 25.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 118 et 119.

Whilst the army was pursuing its way towards Thessaly, ravaging the country; consuming, in a single day, the harvests of whole years; and dragging to the combat the nations it had reduced to indigence; the fleet of Xerxes crossed, instead of doubling, Mount Athos.

This mountain extends itself in a peninsula annexed to the continent only by an isthmus of twelve stadia in breadth.* The Persian fleet had experienced, some years before, the danger of this coast.[i] They might now have conveyed the fleet over the isthmus by the labour of men: but Xerxes had ordered it to be cut through, and a number of workmen were long employed in digging a canal in which two galleys might sail abreast.[k] Xerxes beheld their success, and imagined that, after throwing a bridge over the sea, and opening a passage through mountains, nothing could withstand his power.

The fears which had agitated Greece for many years were now approaching the catastrophe. Ever since the battle of Marathon, the news brought from Asia announced nothing but projects of vengeance on the part of the great king,[l] and that the preparations suspended by the death of Darius were resumed with greater vigour by his son Xerxes.

* About half a league.
[i] Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 44.
[k] Id. lib. 7. cap. 23 et 24.
[l] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698.

Whilst the latter monarch was busily employed in these, two Spartans suddenly made their appearance at the court of Susa, and were admitted to an audience of the king, but constantly refused to prostrate themselves before him in the manner of the eastern nations. "King of the Medes," said they, "the Lacedæmonians put to death, some years ago, the ambassadors of Darius. They owe a satisfaction to Persia: we come to offer you our heads." These two Spartans, named Sperthias and Bulis, learning that the gods, irritated at the murder of the Persian ambassadors, rejected the sacrifices of the Lacedæmonians, had devoted themselves for the salvation of their country.[m] Xerxes, surprised at their firmness, astonished them no less by his answer:—"Go, say to Lacedæmon," replied he, "that if she be capable of violating the law of nations, I am incapable of following her example; nor will I expiate, by taking away your lives, the crime with which she has polluted herself."

Some time after, Xerxes being at Sardes, three Athenian spies were discovered, who had found means to gain admission into the Persian army. The king, far from condemning them to die, ordered that they should be permitted to take, at their leisure, an exact account of his forces, flat-

[m] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 136. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 235.

tering himself that, at their return, the Greeks would lose no time in submitting to his power.[n] But the relation they gave only served to confirm the Lacedæmonians and Athenians in the resolution they had before taken to form a general league among the nations of Greece. They assembled a council on the isthmus of Corinth; and their deputies flew from city to city, endeavouring to communicate the same ardour with which they themselves were animated. The Pythia of Delphi, incessantly interrogated and incessantly surrounded with presents, striving to conciliate the honour of her ministry with the interested views of the priests, and the secret wishes of all who consulted her, now exhorted the nations to remain inactive, and now augmented their alarms by the miseries she announced, and their uncertainty by the impenetrable obscurity of her answers.

The Argives were pressed to enter into the confederation.[o] Six thousand of their soldiers, among whom was the choice body of their youth, had lately perished in an expedition into Argolis, under Cleomenes king of Lacedæmon.[p] Exhausted by this loss, they had obtained an oracle forbidding them to take up arms. They afterwards desired to command part of the army

[n] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 146.
[o] Id. ibid. cap. 145.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 148.

of the Greeks; and complaining of a refusal which they expected, they remained quiet,[q] and concluded by carrying on a secret correspondence with the king of Persia.[r]

More reasonable expectations had been formed from the assistance of Gelon, king of Syracuse. This prince, by his victories and talents, had recently subdued several Grecian colonies, which should naturally fly to the defence of their mother country. The deputies of Lacedæmon and Athens being admitted into his presence, Syagrus the Spartan was their speaker; who, after saying a few words concerning the forces and projects of Xerxes, contented himself with representing to Gelon, that the ruin of Greece would necessarily be followed by that of Sicily.[s]

The king answered with emotion, that in his wars with the Carthaginians, and on other occasions, he had implored the assistance of the allied powers, without obtaining it; that their danger alone now forced them to have recourse to him; that, nevertheless, forgetting these just motives of complaint, he was ready to furnish two hundred galleys, twenty thousand heavy-armed troops, four thousand horsemen, two thousand archers, and as many slingers: "I will

[q] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 148. Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 692. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 3.
[r] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 12.
[s] Id. lib. 7. cap. 157.

besides engage," added he, "to procure the necessary provisions for the whole army during the war:—but I require one condition; which is, to be named generalissimo of the forces both by sea and land."

"Oh! how indignant would be the shade of Agamemnon," hastily replied Syagrus, "were he to learn that the Lacedæmonians have been deprived by Gelon and the Syracusans of the honour of commanding the armies of Greece! No, never will Sparta yield to you that prerogative. If you wish to succour Greece, it is from us you must receive commands; if you pretend to give them, keep your soldiers."—"Syagrus," said the king with calmness, "I do not forget that we are bound by the ties of hospitality; do you, on your part, recollect, that insulting words serve but to exasperate. The haughtiness of your answer shall not make me overstep the bounds of moderation; and though, by my power, I have more right than you to the supreme command, I propose to you to share it. Choose that of the land army, or of the fleet; I will accept either."

"The Greeks," instantly replied the Athenian ambassador, "do not ask a general, but troops. I was silent on your first claims, which it became Syagrus to contest: but I declare, that if the Lacedæmonians yield up any part of the

command, it by right devolves on the Athenians."[t]

On these words, Gelon dismissed the ambassadors, and lost no time in sending off to Delphi a person of the name of Cadmus, with orders to wait there the event of the battle; to withdraw if the Greeks were victors; and, if vanquished, to offer to Xerxes the homage of his crown, accompanied with rich presents.[u]

Nor were the greater part of the negotiations set on foot by the confederate cities attended with any better success. The inhabitants of Crete consulted the oracle, which commanded them not to interfere in the affairs of Greece.[x] The Corcyreans fitted out sixty galleys, which they sent to sea, with orders to remain peaceably on the southern coasts of Peloponnesus, and to declare in favour of the conquerors.[y] The Thessalians, who, by the influence of several of their chiefs, had been hitherto engaged on the part of the Medes, signified to the council, that they were ready to guard the pass of Mount Olympus, which leads from the lower Macedonia into Thessaly, if the other Greeks would second their efforts.[z] Ten thousand men were imme-

[t] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 161.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 163.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 169.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 168. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 13.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 172.

diately sent off, under the command of Evænetus of Lacedæmon, and Themistocles of Athens. They arrived on the banks of the Peneus, and encamped with the Thessalian cavalry, at the entrance of the vale of Tempe; but learning, some days after, that the Persian army could penetrate into Thessaly by an easier road, and some deputies of Alexander, king of Macedon, apprising them of the danger of their situation, they retired towards the isthmus of Corinth; and the Thessalians determined to make their peace with the Persians.

There remained then, for the defence of Greece, only a small number of states and cities. Themistocles was the soul of their councils, and supported their hopes; alternately employing persuasion and address, prudence and activity; actuating every mind, less by the force of eloquence, than by his strength of character; ever directed himself by a genius uncultivated by art, and which nature had destined to govern men and events,—a kind of instinct, whose sudden inspirations unveiled to him every thing he had to hope or dread for the present or the future.[a]

For some years past he had foreseen that the battle of Marathon was but the prelude of the wars with which the Greeks were menaced;

[a] Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 138. Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 112. Nep. in Themist. cap. 1, &c.

that they never had been in greater danger than since their victory; that to secure the superiority they had acquired, they must abandon the methods by which it had been obtained; that they would always be masters of the continent, could they but be so of the sea; and that, in short, a time would come when the general safety would depend on that of Athens, and the safety of Athens on the number of her ships.

In consequence of these reflections, equally new and important, he had undertaken to effect a total change in the ideas of the Athenians, and to turn their views to the establishment of a navy. Two circumstances enabled him to execute his plan. The Athenians were at war with the inhabitants of the island of Ægina; they had to divide at the same time considerable sums arising from their silver mines. He persuaded them to forego this distribution, and to build two hundred galleys, either to attack the Æginætæ, or to defend themselves against the future attacks of the Persians.[b] These galleys were in the ports of Attica at the time of the invasion of Xerxes.

Whilst this prince was continuing his march, it was resolved in the council of the Isthmus, that a body of troops, under the command of Leonidas, king of Sparta, should take possession

[b] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 144. Thucydid. lib. 1. cap. 14. Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 113.

of the pass of Thermopylæ, situate between Thessaly and Locris,[c] and that the fleet of the Greeks should wait for that of the Persians in the adjoining seas, in a strait formed by the coasts of Thessaly and Eubœa.

The Athenians, who were to fit out a hundred and twenty-seven galleys, alleged that they had more right to the command of the fleet than the Lacedæmonians, who furnished only ten.[d] But seeing that the allies threatened to withdraw unless they were headed by a Spartan, they desisted from their claim. Eurybiades was elected general, and had under him Themistocles and the leaders of the other nations.[e]

The fleet, consisting of two hundred and eighty vessels,[f] repaired to the place of its destination, and remained on the coasts of Eubœa, in a strait named Artemisium.

Leonidas, having been informed of the choice of the council, foresaw his fate, and submitted to it with that greatness of soul which then characterised his nation. He chose, to accompany him, only three hundred Spartans, who equalled him in courage, and with whose sentiments he was perfectly acquainted.[g] The ephori having represented to him that so small a number of

[c] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 175. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 4.
[d] Id. lib. 8. cap. 1. Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 206.
[e] Plut. in Themist. p. 115.
[f] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 1.
[g] Id. lib. 7. cap. 205.

soldiers could not suffice :—"They are very few," answered he, "to stop the progress of the enemy, but too many for the object they have in view."—"And what then is that object?" demanded the ephori.—"Our duty," replied he, "is to defend the pass; our resolution, to perish in it. Three hundred victims suffice for the honour of Sparta. She would be irreparably lost should she entrust me with all her warriors; for I am convinced that not a single man among them would even think of flight."[h]

Some days after, Lacedæmon exhibited a spectacle which it is impossible to recollect without emotion. The companions of Leonidas previously honoured his death and their own by a funeral combat, at which their fathers and mothers attended.[i] The ceremony ended, they left the city, followed by their relations and friends, from whom they received an eternal farewell; at which time the wife of Leonidas asking him his last wishes :—"I wish you," said he to her, "a husband worthy of you, and children who may resemble him."[k]

Leonidas hastened his march; since he was anxious, by his example, to retain in their duty several cities ready to declare for the Persians.[l]

[h] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 4. Plut. Lacon. Apophth. t. ii. p. 225.

[i] Plut. de Herodot. Malign. t. ii. p. 866.

[k] Id. ibid.; et Lacon. Apophth. t. ii. p. 225.

[l] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 206.

He passed through the country of the Thebans, whose fidelity was suspected, but who nevertheless furnished him with four hundred men; after which he proceeded on his march, and encamped at Thermopylæ.[m]

Soon after arrived successively a thousand soldiers from Tegea and Mantinea, a hundred and twenty from Orchomenus, a thousand from the other cities of Arcadia, four hundred from Corinth, two hundred from Phlius, eighty from Mycenæ, seven hundred from Thespiæ, and a thousand from Phocis. The little nation of the Locrians repaired to the camp with all its forces.[n]

This detachment, which amounted to about seven thousand men,* was to be followed by the whole army of the Greeks. The Lacedæmonians were detained at home by a festival; the other allies were preparing for the solemnity of the Olympic games; and all imagined that Xerxes was yet far distant from Thermopylæ.[o]

This pass is the only road by which an army can penetrate from Thessaly into Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, Attica, and the adjacent countries.[p] It will be necessary to give a succinct description of it.

[m] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 205. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 6.
[n] Id. ibid. cap. 202.
* See note VII. at the end of the volume.
[o] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 206.
[p] Liv. lib. 36. cap. 15.

On quitting Phocis to go into Thessaly,* we pass by the little country of the Locrians, and arrive at the town of Alpenus, situate by the sea.[q] As it stands at the entrance of the strait, it has been fortified in these modern times.[r]

The road at first is only wide enough for the passage of a waggon;[s] but it afterwards enlarges itself between morasses formed by the waters of the sea,[t] and almost inaccessible rocks, which terminate the chain of mountains known by the name of Œta.[u]

Scarcely have we left Alpenus, before we discover on the left a stone consecrated to Hercules Melampygus; and fall in with a path which leads to the summit of the mountain.[x] Of this path I shall soon have occasion to speak.

Farther on, the traveller crosses a current of hot water, whence this place has acquired the name of Thermopylæ.[y]

Near to this stream is the town of Anthela; and in the plain which surrounds it, a small eminence,[z] and a temple of Ceres, in which

* See the map.
q Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 176.
r Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 416.
s Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 176.
t Id. ibid. Pausan. lib. 7. cap. 15. p. 558.
u Strab. lib. 9. p. 428. Liv. lib. 36. cap. 15.
x Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 216.
y Id. ibid. cap. 176. Strab. Liv. &c.
z Herodot. ibid. cap. 225.

the Amphictyons annually hold one of their assemblies.

On coming out of the plain, we meet with a road, or rather causeway, only about seven or eight feet wide. This part is particularly to be noticed. The Phocians had formerly built a wall here, to protect their country from the inroads of the Thessalians.[a]

After passing the Phœnix, which at last falls into the Asopus, a river that rises in an adjoining valley, we come to the last defile, half a plethrum in breadth.*

The road then widens as far as Trachinia, which takes its name from the city of Trachis,[b] and is inhabited by the Malians.[c] This country presents the traveller with extensive plains watered by the Sperchius and other rivers. To the east of Trachis now stands the city of Heraclea, which did not exist in the time of Xerxes.[d]

The whole strait, from the defile before we arrive at Alpenus to that which is beyond the Phœnix, may be about forty-eight stadia in length.† Its breadth varies almost at every step; but through its whole extent it is shut in on one side by steep mountains, and on the other

[a] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 176.
* Fifteen or sixteen yards.
[b] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 199.
[c] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 92. Palmer. Exercit. in Optim. Aut. p. 275.
[d] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 92.
† About two leagues.

by the sea or impenetrable morasses.[e] The road is often destroyed by the torrents, or by stagnant waters.[f]

Leonidas posted his little army near Anthela,[g] rebuilt the wall of the Phocians, and dispatched a few advanced troops to defend the approaches. But it was not sufficient to guard the passage at the foot of the mountain; there was on the mountain itself a path, which, beginning at the plain of Trachis, terminated, after various windings, near the town of Alpenus. Leonidas entrusted the defence of this path to the thousand Phocians he had with him, and who took post on the heights of Mount Œta.[h]

Scarcely were these dispositions completed, before the army of Xerxes was discovered, spreading itself over Trachinia, and covering the plain with its innumerable tents.[i] At sight of this the Greeks deliberated on the measures to be adopted. The greater part of the generals were for retiring to the Isthmus; but Leonidas rejecting this counsel, they contented themselves with dispatching couriers to hasten the succours of the allied cities.[k]

A Persian horseman now appeared, sent by Xerxes to reconnoitre the enemy. The advanced

[e] Pausan. lib. 10. p. 849.
[f] Strab. lib. 9. p. 428.
[g] Pausan. lib. 7. p. 558. Liv. lib. 36. cap. 15.
[h] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 175 et 217.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 201.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 207.

post of the Greeks was that day composed of the Spartans, some of whom were exercising themselves in wrestling, others combing their hair; for in similar dangers their first care is to decorate their heads. The horseman was permitted to approach to number them, and to retire without any person deigning to pay attention to him. As the wall concealed from him the rest of the army, he only gave an account to Xerxes of the three hundred men he had seen at the entrance of the defile.[l]

The king, astonished at the tranquillity of the Lacedæmonians, waited a few days to give them time for reflection.[m] On the fifth day he wrote to Leonidas: "If thou wilt submit to my power, I will give thee the empire of Greece." Leonidas answered: "I rather choose to die for my country than to enslave it" A second letter from the king contained only these words: "Surrender thy arms." Leonidas wrote underneath: "Come and take them."[n]

Xerxes, transported with rage, immediately gave orders for the Medes and Cissians to march,[o] commanding them to take these men alive, and instantly to bring them to him. Some soldiers running to Leonidas, said to

[l] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 208.
[m] Id. ibid. cap. 210.
[n] Plut. Lacon. Apophth. t. ii. p. 225.
[o] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 210.

him: "The Persians are near us." To which he coolly replied: "Rather say, that we are near the Persians."[p] He immediately advanced out of his entrenchment, with the choicest of his troops, and gave the signal for battle. The Medes rushed on with fury: their first ranks fell covered with wounds; and those who replaced them quickly experienced the same fate. The Greeks, pressing close against each other, and covered with large bucklers, presented an impenetrable front of long pikes, and a phalanx which fresh troops successively attempted in vain to break. After several fruitless attacks, the Medes were seized with a panic: they fled, and were relieved by the chosen body of the ten thousand immortals commanded by Hydarnes.[q] The action now became more bloody: the valour each side displayed was perhaps equal; but the Greeks had in their favour the advantage of situation, and the superiority of arms. The pikes of the Persians were too short, and their bucklers too small;[r] they lost a great number of men; and Xerxes, witness of their flight, leaped, it is said, more than once from his chariot, and trembled for his army.

The next day the attack was renewed, but with so little success on the part of the Persians,

[p] Plut. Lacon. Apophth. t. ii. p. 225.
[q] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 7.
[r] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 211.

that Xerxes despaired of forcing the passage. His proud and pusillanimous mind was agitated by anxiety and shame; when an inhabitant of those districts, named Epialtes, came to discover to him the fatal path by which he might turn the flank of the Grecians. Xerxes, transported with joy, immediately detached Hydarnes with the corps of the immortals.[s] Epialtes served them as a guide. They began their march as night came on, made their way through the forest of oaks which covered the sides of the mountains, and arrived near the spot where Leonidas had posted a detachment of his army.

Hydarnes took this for a body of Spartans, but, encouraged by Epialtes, who knew the Phocians, prepared to attack them. After a slight defence, they took refuge on the adjoining heights, leaving the Persians to pursue their march.

During the night, Leonidas had been informed of their project by some deserters who had escaped from the camp of Xerxes: and the next morning learnt their success by the arrival of the centinels stationed on the top of the mountain. At this dreadful news the leaders of the Greeks assembled. As some of them proposed to retreat from Thermopylæ,

[s] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 215. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 7. Strab. lib. 1. p. 10.

and others to remain, Leonidas conjured them to reserve themselves for more fortunate opportunities, but declared that, as for himself and his companions, it was not permitted them to quit a post that Sparta had confided to their care.[t] The Thespians protested that they would not abandon the Spartans; and the four hundred Thebans, either voluntarily or through necessity, adopted the same resolution:[u] the remainder of the army had time to march out of the defile.

In the mean time Leonidas prepared for the most daring of enterprises. "It is not here." said he to his companions, "that we must fight: we must march to the tent of Xerxes, sacrifice the invader, or perish in the midst of his camp." His soldiers answered only by a shout of joy. He then made them take a frugal repast, adding: "We shall soon take another with Pluto." Expressions like these could not but leave a profound impression in their minds. When on the point of attacking the enemy, he was moved with the fate of two Spartans, united to him by blood and friendship; to the first he gave a letter, and to the second a secret commission for the magistrates of Lacedæmon. "We came not here," replied they, "to carry orders, but

[t] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 220. Justin. lib. 2. cap. 11.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 222. Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 865.

to fight;" and, without waiting for his answer, took their places in the ranks assigned to them.[x]

In the middle of the night, the Greeks, with Leonidas at their head, issued out of the defile, advanced with hasty steps through the plain, overthrew the advanced posts, and penetrated to the tent of Xerxes, who had already taken flight. They entered the adjoining tents, spread over the camp, and glutted themselves with carnage. The terror they inspired was increased at every step, and every instant, with the most dreadful circumstances. Confused rumours and lamentable cries announced that the troops of Hydarnes were cut off, and that the whole army must soon be destroyed by the combined forces of Greece. The most courageous of the Persians, no longer able to hear the voice of their generals, nor knowing whither to bend their steps or to direct their blows, threw themselves at random into the battle, and were perishing by the hands of each other, when the first rays of the sun enabled them to discover the inconsiderable number of the victors. They instantly formed, and attacked the Greeks on all sides. Leonidas fell beneath a shower of darts. The contest for the honour of carrying off his body brought on a terrible conflict be-

[x] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 8. Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 866. Id. Lacon. Apophth. t. ii. p. 225. Justin. lib. 2. cap. 11.

tween his companions and the most expert and hardy warriors of the Persian army. Two brothers of Xerxes, a multitude of Persians, and several Spartans, there lost their lives. At length the Greeks, though spent and enfeebled by their losses, carried off their general, four times repulsing the enemy in their retreat; and after regaining the defile, cleared the entrenchment, and took post on the little eminence near Anthela; where they still defended themselves for some time, both against the troops in their pursuit, and those brought against them by Hydarnes from the other side of the strait.[y]

Pardon, generous shades, the feebleness of my expressions. I offered you a worthier homage when I visited that eminence on which you breathed your last; when, leaning on one of your tombs, I bathed with my tears the places stained with your blood. But, after all, what is it that eloquence can add to so sublime and so extraordinary a sacrifice? The memory of your heroic deeds will remain longer than the Persian empire which you resisted: and to the end of ages your example will produce in every heart that loves its country the rapture or the enthusiasm of admiration.

Before the action was terminated, it is said that some Thebans surrendered to the Persians.[z] The Thespians shared in the exploits and fate

[y] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 225. [z] Id. ibid. cap. 233.

of the Spartans, yet the glory of the Spartans has almost eclipsed that of the Thespians. Amongst the causes which have influenced the public opinion, it must be observed that the resolution to perish at Thermopylæ was, with the former, a plan conceived, determined on, and pursued with as much coolness as constancy; whereas it was but a sally of bravery and virtue in the latter, when stimulated by example. The Thespians only rose superior to other men, because the Spartans rose superior to themselves.

Lacedæmon prides herself in the death of her warriors. Every thing that relates to them justly engages the attention. Whilst they were at Thermopylæ, a Trachinian, to impress them with a high idea of the numerous army of Xerxes, said to them, that the number of their arrows was sufficient to obscure the sun. So much the better, replied the Spartan Dieneces; we shall then fight in the shade.[a] Another, sent by Leonidas, to Lacedæmon, was detained in the town of Alpenus by a defluxion in his eyes. On being told that the detachment of Hydarnes was descending from the mountain, and entering the defile, he instantly flew to arms, ordered his slave to conduct him to the enemy, attacked at random, and obtained the death to which he aspired.[b]

[a] Herod. lib. 7. cap. 226. [b] Id. ibid. cap. 229.

Two other Greeks, who had been absent likewise by order of the general, were, on their return, suspected of not having exerted every effort to be present at the battle. Such a suspicion covered them with infamy. The one slew himself; the only resource of the other was to lose his life, some time after, at the battle of Platæa.[c]

The death of Leonidas and his companions produced a greater effect than the most brilliant victory; it taught the Greeks the secret of their power, and the Persians that of their weakness.[d] Xerxes, dismayed at finding himself at the head of such a number of men, but so few soldiers, was not less alarmed to learn that Greece possessed a multitude of defenders, no less intrepid than the Thespians, and eight thousand Spartans as brave as those who had now sacrificed their lives.[e] On the other hand, the astonishment with which they had filled the Greeks, soon changed into a violent desire to imitate them. The ambition of glory, the love of their country, all the virtues were carried to their highest elevation, and the minds of men exalted to a degree hitherto unknown. This was the time for great actions, and not that which should be chosen for imposing chains upon nations animated with such noble sentiments.

[c] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 231 et 232.
[d] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. p. 10.
[e] Herodot. ibid. cap. 210 et 234.

While Xerxes was at Thermopylæ, his fleet, after meeting with a tempest on the coasts of Magnesia, which destroyed four hundred galleys, and a great number of transports,[f] had continued its course, and anchored near the city of Aphetæ, only at the distance of eighty stadia from that of the Greeks,[g] stationed to defend the passage between Eubœa and the main land. Here, though with some variation of success, were repeated, both in the attack and the defence, several of the circumstances which preceded and accompanied the attack of Thermopylæ.[h]

The Greeks, at the approach of the enemy's fleet, resolved to abandon the strait; but Themistocles retained them.[i] Two hundred Persian vessels sailed round the Isle of Eubœa, and were proceeding to shut in the Greeks, when a second tempest dashed them to pieces on the rocks.[k] In the course of three days several engagements took place, in which the Greeks almost always obtained the advantage: at length they learned that the pass of Thermopylæ was forced, and immediately they retreated to the Isle of Salamis.[l]

During this retreat, Themistocles landed on those coasts to which the crews of the enemy's

[f] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 190. [g] Id. lib. 8. cap. 8.
[h] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 11.
[i] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 4 et 5. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 11.
[k] Herodot. ibid. cap. 7. et 13. [l] Id. ibid. cap. 21.

vessels might be expected to resort on account of the springs of water. He there left inscriptions, addressed to the Iönians in the army of Xerxes, reminding them that they were the descendants of those Greeks against whom they now bore arms. His intention was to induce them to abandon the party of that prince, or at least to render them suspected.[m]

In the mean time the army of the Greeks took its station on the Isthmus of Corinth, and now thought only of disputing the entrance into Peloponnesus.[n] This project disconcerted the views of the Athenians, who had hitherto flattered themselves that Bœotia, not Attica, would be the seat of war. Abandoned by their allies, perhaps they would have abandoned themselves. But Themistocles, who foresaw every future contingency, without dreading any, as he provided for every event, had adopted such prudent measures, that this very event served only to justify the system of defence which he had conceived from the beginning of the Median war.

In public, and in private, he represented to the Athenians that it was time to quit those places which the vengeance of Heaven had determined to resign to the fury of the Persians; that the fleet offered them a secure asylum, and that they would find a new home wherever they could

[m] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 22. Justin. lib. 2. cap. 12. Plut. in Themist. p. 116.

[n] Herodot. ibid. cap. 40. Isocr. Panag. t. i. p. 166.

preserve their liberty. These discourses he seconded by oracles which he had obtained from the Pythia; and when the people were assembled, an incident contrived by Themistocles finally determined them to embrace his advice. Some priests declared that the sacred serpent fed in the temple of Minerva had lately disappeared.[o] The goddess forsakes her abode! exclaimed they; Why should we delay to follow her? The people immediately passed the following decree proposed by Themistocles: "That the city should be put under the protection of Minerva; that all the inhabitants able to bear arms should go on board the ships; and that each individual should provide for the safety of his wife, his children, and slaves."[p] The people were so animated, that on coming out of the assembly they stoned to death Cyrsilus, who had ventured to propose submission to the Persians, and inflicted the same punishment on the wife of that orator.[q]

The execution of this decree presented a most affecting scene. The inhabitants of Attica, obliged to quit their homes, their fields, the temples of their gods, and the tombs of their ancestors, made the plains resound with their doleful cries. The aged, whom their infirmities rendered it impossible to convey from the city, were unable to tear themselves from the arms of

[o] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 41. Plut. in Themist. p. 116.
[p] Plut. in Themist. p. 116. [q] Demosth. de Cor. p. 507.

their disconsolate families; the men capable of serving the republic received on the sea-shore the farewell and lamentations of their wives, their children, and those to whom they owed their being:[r] they made them hastily embark in vessels prepared to convey them to Ægina, Trœzen, and Salamis,[s] and themselves immediately went on board the fleet, overwhelmed with an excess of affliction which waited only for the moment of revenge.

Xerxes was at this time preparing to leave the Straits of Thermopylæ. The flight of the Grecian fleet had revived all his haughtiness; and he hoped to find among them that terror and discouragement which the slightest reverse of fortune occasioned in his own mind. Thus circumstanced, some Arcadian deserters repaired to his army, and were admitted into his presence. They were asked in what manner the states of Peloponnesus were employed. "They are celebrating the Olympic games," answered they; "and are busied in distributing crowns to the victors." One of the chiefs of the army instantly exclaiming, We are led then against men who fight only for glory? Xerxes reproached him with his cowardice; and considering the security of the Greeks as an insult, hastened his departure.[t]

[r] Plut. in Themist. p. 117.
[s] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 41. Pausan. lib. 2. p. 185.
[t] Id. ibid. cap. 26.

He entered Phocis. The inhabitants determined to sacrifice every thing rather than betray the common cause. Some took refuge on Mount Parnassus; others in a neighbouring state: their fields were ravaged, and their cities destroyed by fire and sword. Bœotia submitted, except Platæa and Thespiæ, which were razed to their foundations.[u]

After having laid waste Attica, Xerxes entered Athens, where he found a few wretched old men expecting death, and a small number of citizens, who on the faith of some ill-interpreted oracles, had resolved to defend the citadel. For several days they repulsed the redoubled attacks of the besiegers; but in the end some threw themselves from the top of the walls, and others were massacred in the holy places, where they had in vain sought for an asylum. The city was abandoned to pillage, and devoted to the flames.[x]

The Persian fleet lay at anchor in the road of Phalerum,[y] distant twenty stadia from Athens;* that of the Greeks along the coast of Salamis. This island, situate opposite to Eleusis,† forms a spacious bay, which is entered by two straits; the one to the eastward on the side of Attica;

[u] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 50.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 53. Pausan. lib. 10. cap. 35. p. 887.
[y] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 67. Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 10. p. 619.
* A short league.
† See the plan of the battle of Salamis.

the other to the west on that of Megaris. The former, at the entrance of which is the little island Psyttalia, may, in some places, be from seven to eight stadia in breadth,* and in others much wider; the latter is not so broad.

The burning of Athens made such an impression on the Greeks, that the greater part of them resolved to approach the Isthmus of Corinth, where the land troops were entrenched. Their departure was fixed for the next day.[z]

During the night† Themistocles waited on Eurybiades, the commander in chief of the fleet,[a] and warmly represented to him, that if, in the consternation that had taken possession of the soldiers, he conducted them to places favourable to desertion, as his authority would not be sufficient to keep them on board the vessels, he would soon find himself without an army, and Greece be deprived of all defence.

In consequence of this suggestion, Eurybiades summoned his generals to the council. All of them exclaimed against the proposition of Themistocles; all, irritated at his obstinacy, proceeded to offensive language and insulting menaces. While he was repelling with anger these indecent and tumultuous attacks, he saw the

* Nearly a mile.

[z] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 56.

† The night between the 18th and 19th of October of the year 480 before Christ.

[a] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 57.

Lacedæmonian general approach him with his uplifted cane. He made a pause, and said to him without emotion: "Strike, but hear."[b] This greatness of mind astonished the Spartan, and occasioned a general silence; when Themistocles, resuming his superiority, but carefully avoiding to throw the least suspicion on the fidelity of the chiefs and troops, drew a lively picture of the advantages of the post they occupied, and the dangers of that they wished to take: "Here," said he, "enclosed within a strait, we shall present a front equal to that of the enemy. Further on, the innumerable fleet of the Persians, having room to extend itself, will surround us on all sides. By fighting at Salamis, we shall preserve that island in which are our wives and children; we shall preserve the island of Ægina and the city of Megara, whose inhabitants are members of the confederation: if we retire to the Isthmus, we shall lose these important places, and you, Eurybiades, will have to reproach yourself with having drawn the enemy on the coasts of Peloponnesus."[c]

At these words Adimantus, chief of the Corinthians, an avowed partisan of the contrary opinion, again had recourse to insult. "Is it for a man," said he, "who has neither home nor habitation, to give laws to Greece? Let

[b] Plut. in Themist. p. 117.
[c] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 61. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 13.

Themistocles reserve his counsels for the time when he shall be able to flatter himself he has a country."—"What then!" exclaims Themistocles, "shall any man dare, in the presence of the Greeks, to impute to us as a crime, that we have abandoned a useless pile of stones to avoid slavery? Wretched Adimantus! Athens is destroyed, but the Athenians still exist; they possess a country a thousand times more flourishing than yours, in these two hundred vessels that belong to them, and which I command: I still offer them; but they shall remain where they now are. If their assistance be refused, be the Greek who now hears me whom he may, he shall soon learn that the Athenians possess a city more opulent, and fields more fertile, than those which they have lost."[d] And addressing himself immediately to Eurybiades: "It now," said he, "lies with you to choose between the honour of saving Greece, or the disgrace of having caused its ruin. I only declare to you, that after your departure we will embark our wives and children, and proceed to Italy, to found a power heretofore promised us by the oracle. When you shall have lost such allies as the Athenians, you will perhaps call to remembrance the words of Themistocles."[e]

The commanding firmness of the Athenian

[d] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 61. Plut. in Themist. p. 117.
[e] Herodot. ibid. cap. 62.

general was of such effect, that Eurybiades gave orders that the fleet should not quit the shores of Salamis.

Similar consultations were held at the same time in both the fleets. Xerxes had convoked on board one of his vessels the leaders of the particular divisions of which his naval armament was composed. These were the kings of Sidon, Tyre, Cilicia, Cyprus, and a number of other petty sovereigns or despots, dependants or tributaries of Persia. In this august assembly appeared also Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus and some neighbouring islands; a princess whom none of the generals surpassed in courage, nor equalled in prudence;[f] who had followed Xerxes without compulsion, and might speak the truth to him without giving him offence. The question for deliberation was proposed; which was, whether they should make a new attack on the Grecian fleet. Mardonius arose to collect the suffrages.

The king of Sidon, and the greater part of those who voted after him, being informed of the intentions of the great king, declared themselves for the battle. But Artemisia thus addressed Mardonius: " Repeat precisely to Xerxes what I am now about to say to you:—My lord, after what passed in the late naval fight,

[f] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 101.

no person will suspect me of weakness or of cowardice. My zeal this day obliges me to give you a salutary counsel. Do not hazard a battle, the consequences of which would be useless or fatal to your glory. Is not the principal object of your expedition accomplished? You are master of Athens, and you will soon be so of the rest of Greece. By keeping your fleet in action, that of your enemies, which is provided with subsistence only for a few days, will of itself disperse. Do you wish to accelerate that moment; send your vessels to the coasts of Peloponnesus; conduct your land forces towards the Isthmus of Corinth, and you will see the Grecian troops fly to the succour of their country. I dread a battle, because, so far from procuring advantages, it would endanger both your armies; I dread it, because I know the superiority of the Grecian navy. You are, my lord, the best of masters; but you have very wretched servants. And what confidence, after all, can you place in that crowd of Egyptians, Cypriots, Cilicians, and Pamphilians, who fill the greatest part of your vessels?"[g]

Mardonius, having collected all the votes, made his report to Xerxes, who, after lavishing the highest encomiums on the queen of Halicarnassus, endeavoured to reconcile the advice of

[g] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 68.

that princess with the opinion of the majority of the council. He gave orders that the fleet should advance towards the isle of Salamis, while the army marched to the Isthmus of Corinth.[h]

This step produced the effect foreseen by Artemisia. The greater part of the generals of the Grecian fleet exclaimed that it was now time to hasten to the succour of Peloponnesus. The opposition of the Æginetæ, Megareans, and Athenians, protracted the deliberation; but Themistocles at length perceiving that the contrary opinion was prevalent in the council,[i] made one effort more to prevent its consequences.

A man was sent during the night* to give information from him to the chiefs of the enemy's fleet, that part of the Greeks, and the general of the Athenians at their head, were disposed to declare in favour of the king; that the remainder, seized with consternation, were meditating a hasty retreat; and that, enfeebled as they were by divisions, if they saw themselves suddenly surrounded by the Persian forces, they would be compelled to lay down their arms, or turn them against themselves.[k]

The Persians immediately advanced, under

[h] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 69 et 71.
[i] Lycurg. in Leocr. p. 156.
* In the night between the 19th and 20th of October of the year 480 before Christ.
[k] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 75. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. p. 14. Plut. in Them. p. 118. Nep. in Themist. cap. 4.

favour of the darkness, and, after blocking up the avenues by which the Greeks might have escaped,[l] they stationed four hundred men[m] in the island of Psyttalia, situate between the continent and the eastern point of Salamis; at which place the battle was to be fought.[n]

At this moment Aristides, whom Themistocles had some time before restored to the wishes of the Athenians,[o] crossed from the isle of Ægina to the Grecian fleet. He had perceived this movement of the Persians; and, as soon as he arrived at Salamis, repaired to the place where the generals were assembled, sent for Themistocles, and said to him: "It is time to forget our idle and puerile dissensions. One only interest ought to animate us this day; that of saving Greece, you by giving orders, and I by carrying them into execution. Tell the Greeks that deliberation now is out of the question, and that the enemy has just made himself master of the passages that might favour their flight." Themistocles, much affected with the noble conduct of Aristides, discovered to him the stratagem he had employed to induce the Persians to act as they had done, and requested him to enter the council.[p] The relation of Aristides,

[l] Æschyl. in Pers. v. 366. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 14.
[m] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 36. p. 88.
[n] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 76.
[o] Plut. in Themist. p. 117.
[p] Id. ibid. p. 118; in Aristid. p. 323.

confirmed by other witnesses who successively arrived, broke up the assembly, and the Greeks prepared for battle.

By the reinforcements which both fleets had received, that of the Persians amounted to twelve hundred and seven vessels, and that of the Greeks to three hundred and eighty.[q] At break of day Themistocles embarked his soldiers. The Grecian fleet formed in the eastern strait: the Athenians were on the right,[r] and opposite to the Phœnicians; the left, composed of Lacedæmonians, Æginetæ, and Megareans, was opposed to the Iönians.[s]

Xerxes, wishing to animate his army by his presence, placed himself upon a neighbouring eminence, surrounded by secretaries who were to describe all the circumstances of the engagement.[t] As soon as he appeared, the two wings of the Persians began to move, and advanced beyond the island of Psyttalia. They preserved their lines as long as they were able to extend them, but were compelled to break their order, as they approached the island and the continent.[u] Besides this disadvantage, they had to contend with a contrary wind;[x] and the heaviness of

[q] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 184. Id. lib. 8. cap. 66 et 82.
[r] Id. lib. 8. cap. 83. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 15.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 85.
[t] Id. ibid. 69 et 90. Plut. in Themist. p. 118.
[u] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 15.
[x] Plut. in Themist. p. 119.

their vessels, which were extremely unwieldy in manœuvring, and which, so far from being able mutually to support, were perpetually embarrassing and striking against each other.

The fate of the battle depended on the operations of the right wing of the Greeks, and of the left of the Persians. There were placed the choicest forces of both fleets. The Phœnicians and Athenians alternately pressed and repulsed each other in the strait. Ariabignes, one of the brothers of Xerxes, conducted the former to the battle, as if he had been leading them to victory. Themistocles was present every-where, and braved every danger. Whilst he was re-animating or moderating the ardour of his troops, Ariabignes advanced and showered on him, as from the summit of a rampart, a cloud of darts and arrows. At this very instant an Athenian galley rushed with impetuosity on the Phœnician admiral: and the indignant young prince, leaping on board the galley, fell immediately covered with wounds.[y]

The death of their leader spread consternation among the Phœnicians, and the multitude of chiefs created a confusion that accelerated their destruction. Their huge vessels, driven on the rocks of the adjacent coasts, dashed against each other, and, their sides being laid open by the

[y] Plut. in Themistocl. p. 119. Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 89.

beaks of the Athenian galleys, covered the sea with wrecks: even the succours that were sent them served only to increase their confusion.[z] In vain did the Cypriots and the other nations of the east attempt to renew the battle: after a long resistance they dispersed, and followed the example of the Phœnicians.[a]

Not content with this advantage, Themistocles led his victorious wing to the succour of the Lacedæmonians and the other allies, who were defending themselves against the Iönians. As the latter had read the inscriptions left by Themistocles on the coasts of Eubœa, exhorting them to forsake the party of the Persians, it is alleged that some of them joined the Greeks during the engagement, or were only attentive to spare them. It is certain however that they in general fought with valour, nor thought of a retreat till they were attacked by the whole of the Grecian fleet. At this juncture Artemisia, surrounded by enemies, and on the point of falling into the hands of an Athenian in close pursuit of her, had recourse to the expedient of sinking a vessel of the Persian fleet. The Athenian, persuaded by this stratagem that the queen had deserted the cause of the Persians, desisted from the pursuit; and Xerxes, suppos-ing that the vessel he saw go down belonged to

[z] Æschyl. in Pers. v. 413. Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 89.
[a] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. p. 15.

the Greeks, could not refrain from remarking, that on this day the men had behaved like women, and the women like men.[b]

The Persian fleet retired to the port of Phalerum.[c] Two hundred of their vessels had been destroyed, and a great number taken. The Greeks lost only forty galleys.[d] The battle was fought on the twentieth of Boedromion, in the first year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad.*

The names of the nations and individuals who distinguished themselves the most are still preserved. Among the former were the Æginetæ and the Athenians; among the latter, Polycritus of Ægina, and two Athenians, Eumenes, and Aminias.[e]

During the continuance of the battle, Xerxes was agitated by joy, apprehension, and despair. He alternately lavished promises, and issued sanguinary orders; making his secretaries enregister the names of those who signalised themselves in the action, and his slaves put to death the officers who approached him to justify their conduct.[f] At length, no longer supported by hope or rage, he sunk into a state of profound dejection; and, though he had forces sufficient

[b] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 88.
[c] Id. ibid. cap. 91 et 93.
[d] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 16.
* The 20th of October, of the year 480 before Christ: Dodwell in Thucyd. p. 49.
[e] Herodot. lib 8. cap. 93.
[f] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 16.

to subdue the world, he saw his fleet ready to revolt, and the Greeks preparing to burn the bridge of boats he had thrown over the Hellespont. A speedy flight might have delivered him from these idle terrors;[g] but some remains of a sense of decency or pride not allowing him to manifest so much weakness in the sight of his enemies and courtiers, he ordered preparations to be made for a new attack, and a causeway to be formed to join the island of Salamis to the continent.

He next sent away a courier to Susa, as he had dispatched one after the taking of Athens. On the arrival of the first, the inhabitants of that vast city flocked to the temples, and burnt perfumes in the streets, which they had strewed with myrtle branches; on the arrival of the second, they rent their garments, and every place resounded with cries, groans, exclamations of fear for the safety of the king, and imprecations against Mardonius, the first author of the war.[h]

The Persians and Greeks were in expectation of a new battle; but Mardonius was by no means satisfied with the orders given by Xerxes: he read in the soul of that prince nothing but the meanest sentiments combined with projects of revenge, to which he possibly might fall a

[g] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 97.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 99.

victim. "My lord," said he, approaching him, "deign to recall your courage: your expectations were not founded on your fleet, but on that formidable army with which you have entrusted me. The Greeks are no more able to resist you now than heretofore: nothing can shelter them from the punishment due to their old offences, and the fruitless advantage they have lately gained. If we determine on a retreat, we shall for ever be the objects of their derision; and the opprobrium that has fallen on the Phœnicians, the Egyptians, and other nations who fought on board your vessels, will recoil on your faithful Persians. Suffer me to propose another method to save their glory and your own: I would advise you to lead back the greater part of your troops to Persia, and leave me three hundred thousand men, with whom I shall be able to reduce all Greece.[1]

Xerxes, who in his own mind was rejoiced at the proposal, assembled his council, called to it Artemisia, and requested her opinion on the project of Mardonius. The queen, disgusted no doubt with serving such a prince, and persuaded that there are conjunctures in which to deliberate implies a previous resolution, advised him to return as soon as possible to his dominions. I shall report part of her an-

[1] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 100. Justin. lib. 2. cap. 13.

swer, to give an idea of the language of the court of Susa: "Leave to Mardonius the care of completing your work. If he succeeds, yours will be all the glory; if he perishes, or is defeated, your empire will not, on that account, be shaken, nor Persia consider the loss of a battle as any great misfortune, when you shall have secured your person."[k]

Xerxes no longer delayed. His fleet had orders to repair immediately to the Hellespont, and watch over the preservation of the bridge of boats;[l] that of the Greeks pursued it as far as the isle of Andros. Themistocles and the Athenians wished to come up with it, and then burn the bridge: but Eurybiades strongly representing, that far from shutting up the Persians in Greece, it was their interest, if possible, to procure them new passages to facilitate their retreat, the army of the allies suspended the pursuit, and soon after proceeded to the port of Pagasæ, where it passed the winter.

Themistocles now procured secret intelligence to be conveyed to Xerxes. Some allege that wishing, in case of his disgrace, to secure himself an asylum at the court of that prince, he made a merit of having diverted the Greeks from their intended project of burning the

[k] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 102.
[l] Id. ibid. cap. 107.

bridge.[m] According to others, he warned the king, that, unless he hastened his departure, the Greeks would cut off his retreat to Asia.[n] Be this as it may, some days after the battle of Salamis the king took the road to Thessaly, where Mardonius sent into winter-quarters the three hundred thousand men that he had demanded, and had chosen from the whole army.[o] Thence continuing his route, he arrived on the borders of the Hellespont with a very inconsiderable number of troops;[p] the remainder, for want of provisions, had perished by disorders, or dispersed themselves over Macedonia and Thrace. To complete his misfortune, the bridge no longer remained, having been destroyed by a tempest. The king threw himself into a boat, passed the sea as a fugitive,* about six months after he had crossed it as a conqueror,[q] and repaired to Phrygia, to build sumptuous palaces, which he took care to fortify in case of attack.[r]

The first care of the victors, after the battle, was to transmit to Delphi the first fruits of the spoils they had divided. The generals next pro-

[m] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 110.
[n] Plut. in Themist. p. 120. Nep. in Themist. cap. 5. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 16.
[o] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 113.
[p] Id. ibid. cap. 115.
* The 4th of December of the year 480 before Christ. Dodwell, p. 50.
[q] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 51 et 115.
[r] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 1. p. 246.

ceeded to the Isthmus of Corinth; and, agreeably to a custom, respectable from its antiquity, and still more so from the emulation it inspires, assembled near the altar of Neptune, to decree crowns to those among them who had most contributed to the victory. The decision was not pronounced, each of the chiefs adjudging the first prize to himself, whilst the greater part of them allowed the second to be due to Themistocles.

Though, in consequence, it was impossible to dispute with him the first in the opinion of the public, he wished to obtain an effective testimony in his favour from the Spartans, who received him at Lacedæmon with that high respect they themselves merited, and made him a participator in the honours they decreed to Eurybiades. A crown of olive was the reward of both. At his departure he received new applauses; a present was made him of the most beautiful chariot to be found in Lacedæmon; and to bestow on him a distinction equally novel and illustrious, three hundred youths on horseback, chosen from the first families of Sparta, were ordered to accompany him to the frontier of Laconia.[s]

In the mean time Mardonius was preparing to terminate a war so disgraceful to Persia. He added fresh troops to those left him by Xerxes,

[s] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 124.

without perceiving that to increase their number was to enfeeble them; he by turns solicited all the oracles of Greece;[t] he sent defiances to the allied nations, and proposed to them for the field of battle the plains of Bœotia, or those of Thessaly: in fine, resolving to detach the Athenians from the league, he sent to Athens Alexander king of Macedonia, who was connected with them by the ties of hospitality.[u]

This prince, admitted to the assembly of the people at the same time with the ambassadors of Lacedæmon commissioned to frustrate the negotiation, spoke as follows: "Thus saith Mardonius: I have received an order from the king conceived in these words—I forget the offences of the Athenians. Mardonius, execute my will; restore to that people their lands; give them others, if they desire it; preserve to them their laws, and rebuild the temples I have burnt. I thought proper to inform you of the intentions of my master; and I add, it is folly on your part to attempt to resist the Persians; and still greater folly to pretend to resist them long. If we even suppose, contrary to all probability, that you should gain the victory, another army would soon deprive you of the honour. Rush not therefore on destruction; but let a treaty of peace, concluded with mutual

[t] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 133.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 136.

sincerity, rescue from danger your honour and your liberty." Alexander, after relating this message, laboured to convince the Athenians that they were not in a condition to contend with the power of Persia, and conjured them to prefer the friendship of Xerxes to every other interest.[x]

"Listen not to the perfidious counsels of Alexander, exclaimed the ambassadors from Lacedæmon. He is a tyrant who serves another tyrant. By a despicable artifice, he has falsified the instructions of Mardonius. The offers he makes you on his part are too seducing not to be suspicious: you cannot accept them without trampling under foot the laws of justice and of honour. Was it not you by whom this war was kindled? And shall those Athenians who have at all times shown themselves the most zealous defenders of liberty be the first authors of our slavery? Lacedæmon, who makes these representations to you by our mouths, commiserates the wretched state to which your ruined houses and your ravaged fields reduce you: she proposes to you in her name, and in the name of her allies, to maintain, and preserve for you in trust, for the remainder of the war, your wives, your children, and your slaves."[y]

The Athenians proposed the matter for deli-

[x] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 140.
[y] Id. ibid. cap. 142.

beration; and, agreeably to the opinion of Aristides, it was resolved to answer the king of Macedonia, that he might have dispensed with his intelligence that their forces were inferior to those of the enemy, but that they were not on that account less disposed to make the most vigorous resistance to the barbarians; and counselled him, when he had such base propositions to offer to them in future, not to appear in their presence, nor expose them to violate, in his person, the rights of hospitality and friendship.[z]

It was also determined that they should answer to the Lacedæmonians, that if Sparta had known the Athenians better, she would not have supposed them capable of such treachery, nor have endeavoured to retain them in her alliance by interested motives; that they would provide, as well as they could, for the necessities of their families, and thanked the allies for their generous offers; that they were attached to the league by sacred and indissoluble ties; and that the only favour they demanded of the allies was to send them speedy succours, as it was time to march into Bœotia, and prevent the enemy from penetrating a second time into Attica.[a]

The ambassadors being again admitted, Aristides caused the decrees to be read in their pre-

[z] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 143. Lycurg. Orat. in Leocr. p. 156. [a] Herodot. ibid. cap. 144.

sence; then, suddenly raising his voice, "Ambassadors of Lacedæmon," said he, "inform the Spartans, that all the gold that circulates on the earth, or that still lies hidden within its bowels, is nothing in our eyes to the value of our liberty. And you, Alexander," addressing himself to that prince, and pointing to the sun, "say to Mardonius, that as long as yon luminary shall revolve in the path marked out for him in the heavens, the Athenians will pursue the king of Persia, till they shall have satisfied the vengeance due to their desolated fields, and their temples reduced to ashes."[b] To give still greater solemnity to this engagement, he instantly procured a decree to be passed, by which the priests should devote to the infernal deities all those who maintained a correspondence with the Persians, or detached themselves from the confederation of the Greeks.

Mardonius, informed of the resolution of the Athenians, instantly marched his troops into Bœotia, and thence poured them into Attica, the inhabitants of which a second time took refuge in the isle of Salamis.[c] He was so flattered with gaining possession of a deserted country, that, by signals placed from distance to distance, both on the islands and on the continent, he gave notice of it to Xerxes, who was

[b] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 143. Plut. in Aristid. p. 324.
[c] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 23.

still at Sardes in Lydia.[d] He attempted likewise to avail himself of this success, to open a new negotiation with the Athenians; but he received the same answer as before; and Lycidas, one of the senators, who had proposed to listen to the offers of the Persian general, was stoned to death with his wife and children.[e]

In the mean time the allies, instead of sending an army, as had been agreed on, into Attica, fortified themselves on the Isthmus of Corinth, and appeared attentive only to the defence of the Peloponnesus.[f] The Athenians, alarmed at this project, sent ambassadors to Lacedæmon, where festivals were celebrating which were to last for some days. They made known their complaints, but the answer was deferred from day to day. Offended at length with an inaction and a silence which too justly entitled them to suspect some perfidy, they presented themselves, for the last time, to the ephori, and declared that Athens, betrayed by the Lacedæmonians, and abandoned by the other allies, was resolved to turn her arms against them, by making her peace with the Persians.

The ephori replied, that the preceding night they had sent off, under the conduct of Pausanias, guardian of the young king Plistarchus,

[d] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 3.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 5.
[f] Id. ibid. cap. 6.

five thousand Spartans, and thirty-five thousand slaves, or Helots, lightly armed.[g] These troops, which were presently increased by five thousand Lacedæmonians, forming a junction with the confederated cities, marched from Eleusis, and proceeded into Bœotia, whither Mardonius had brought back his army.[h]

He had prudently avoided coming to an engagement in Attica. As that country is intersected by heights and defiles, he could neither have been able to extend his cavalry in the battle, nor to secure a retreat in case of a defeat. Bœotia, on the contrary, afforded spacious plains, a fertile country, and a number of cities ready to receive the remains of his army; for, excepting the inhabitants of Platæa and Thespiæ, all the states of that part of Greece had declared in favour of the Persians.

Mardonius pitched his camp in the plain of Thebes, along the river Asopus, the left bank of which he occupied as far as the frontier of the country of the Platæans.* To inclose his baggage, and secure to himself a place of retreat, he caused a space of ten stadia square† to be surrounded with a deep ditch, and likewise with walls and wooden towers.[i] The

[g] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 11.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 19.
* See the plan of the battle of Platæa.
† Above a mile.
[i] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 15. Plut. in Aristid. p. 325.

Greeks were in his front, at the foot and on the declivity of Mount Cithæron. Aristides commanded the Athenians, and Pausanias the whole army.*

Here the Grecian generals drew up the following form of an oath, which was taken with eagerness by the soldiers: "I will not prefer life to liberty; I will not abandon my leaders, neither during their lives, nor after their death; I will bestow the honours of sepulture on such of the allies as shall fall in the battle: after the victory, I will destroy none of those cities which shall have fought for Greece, and I will decimate all those which shall have joined the enemy. I will not attempt to rebuild the temples they have burnt or demolished, but suffer their ruins to remain, perpetually to remind our posterity of the impious fury of the barbarians."[k]

An anecdote reported by an author almost contemporary with these events may enable us to judge of the idea which the greater part of the Persians entertained of their general. Mardonius supped with an inhabitant of Thebes, with fifty of his general officers, as many Thebans, and Thersander, one of the principal citizens of Orchomenus. Towards the end of the entertainment, mutual confidence having taken

* The two armies came in sight of each other the 10th of September of the year 479 before Christ. Dodwell, in Annal. Thucyd. p. 52.

[k] Lycurg. in Leocr. p. 158. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 23.

place between the guests of both nations, a Persian seated near Thersander said to him: "This table, the pledge of our faithful friendship, these libations we have made together in honour of the gods, inspire me with a secret friendship for you. It is time to look to your safety. You see these Persians, who are abandoning themselves to transports of joy; you have seen that army we have left on the banks of the river: alas! you will soon behold only its shattered remains." As he spake these words, he shed tears. Thersander, surprised, asked him if he had communicated his apprehensions to Mardonius, or those whom he honoured with his confidence. "My dear host," replied the stranger, "man cannot avoid his destiny. Many of the Persians foresee, as well as I, what is hanging over us, yet we all suffer ourselves to be hurried on to our fate. The greatest misfortune of mankind is, that the wisest amongst them are always those who have the least influence."[1] The author I have quoted received this anecdote from Thersander himself.

Mardonius, perceiving that the Greeks persisted in maintaining the heights, sent against them his whole cavalry, commanded by Masistius, who stood in the highest degree of favour with Xerxes, and was held in universal estimation by the army. The Persians, after

[1] Her dot. lib. 9. cap. 16.

insulting the Greeks with reproaches of cowardice, fell on the Megareans encamped on a more level spot of ground, who, with the assistance of three hundred Athenians, made a considerably long resistance. The death of Masistius saved them from a total defeat, and terminated the action. This loss was a subject of mourning for the Persian army, and of triumph for the Greeks, who saw the body of Masistius, which they had carried off from the enemy, pass along all their ranks.[m]

Notwithstanding this advantage, the difficulty of procuring water, in presence of an enemy who kept at a distance by their darts all who attempted to approach the river, obliged them to change their position: they filed off along Mount Cithæron, and entered the country of the Platæans.

The Lacedæmonians posted themselves near a copious spring, named Gargaphia, which sufficed for the wants of the whole army. The other allies in general were stationed on the eminences at the foot of the mountain; some of them in the plain, and all in front of the Asopus.

During this distribution of posts, a sharp dispute arose between the Athenians and Tegeatæ, who claimed equally the command of the left

[m] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 22, &c. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 24. Plut. in Aristid. p. 327.

wing. Both recounted their titles and the exploits of their ancestors: but Aristides terminated the difference. "We come not here," said he, "to contest with our allies, but to combat our enemies; we declare that it is not the post that confers or takes away valour. To you, O Lacedæmonians! we refer. Whatever rank you shall assign us, we will raise it to such a height that it shall become perhaps the most honourable of all." The Lacedæmonians decided with acclamations in favour of the Athenians.[n]

A more imminent danger caused the prudence of Aristides a still severer trial: he learnt that some officers of his troops, belonging to the first families of Athens, were meditating an act of treachery in favour of the Persians, and that the conspiracy was daily gaining ground. Far from rendering it more formidable by inquiries which might have apprized the conspirators of their strength, he contented himself with arresting eight of the accomplices. The two most guilty fled. To the others he said, showing them the enemy: "The blood of the Persians alone can expiate your offence."[o]

Mardonius no sooner learned that the Greeks had retired into the territory of Platæa, than, marching his army up the river, he stationed it

[n] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 26. Plut. in Arist. p. 326.
[o] Plut. ibid.

a second time within sight of the enemy. It consisted of three hundred thousand men drawn from the Asiatic nations, and about fifty thousand Bœotians, Thessalians, and other Grecian auxiliaries.[p] That of the confederates was about a hundred and ten thousand strong, sixty-nine thousand five hundred of whom were only lightly armed.[q] In this army were ten thousand Spartans and Lacedæmonians, eight thousand Athenians, five thousand Corinthians, three thousand Megareans, and various little detachments furnished by many other states or cities of Greece.[r] New levies were every day arriving. The Mantineans and the Eleans did not reach the camp till after the battle.

The armies had been within sight of each other eight days, when a detachment of Persian cavalry, passing the Asopus in the night, intercepted a convoy from Peloponnesus which was descending from Mount Cithæron. The Persians made themselves masters of this pass,* and the Greeks were cut off from their provisions.[s]

The two following days the camp of the latter was repeatedly insulted by the cavalry of the enemy. Neither of the armies dared to pass

[p] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 32.

[q] Id. ibid. cap. 30. [r] Id. ibid. cap. 28.

* The 17th of September of the year 479 before Christ. Dodwell, in Ann. Thucyd. p. 52.

[s] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 39.

the river. The augur, on both sides, whether of his own accord, or acted upon by foreign impressions, promised the victory respectively to his party, provided they kept on the defensive.[t]

On the eleventh day Mardonius assembled his council.* Artabazus, one of the first officers of the army, proposed to retire under the walls of Thebes, and not to risk a battle, but to corrupt, by dint of money, the chief inhabitants of the allied cities. This measure, which was much approved by the Thebans, would insensibly have detached from the confederation the greater part of the states of which it was composed; besides that the Grecian army, which was already in want of provisions, would have been compelled in a few days to disperse, or give battle in the plain, which it had hitherto industriously avoided. Mardonius however rejected this proposition with disdain.

The following night† a horseman, escaping from the Persian camp, and advancing towards the quarter of the Athenians, desired them to inform their general that he had an important secret to communicate; and when Aristides arrived, this stranger thus addressed him: "Mardonius in vain wearies the gods to procure fa-

[t] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 36 et 37.

* The 20th of September. Dodwell, in Ann. Thucyd. p. 52.

† The night between the 20th and 21st of September.

vourable auspices; their silence has hitherto retarded the battle. But the efforts of the augurs can no longer detain him. He will attack you to-morrow at break of day. I hope after your victory you will remember that I have risked my life to secure you from a surprise: I am Alexander, king of Macedonia." Having thus spoken, he returned full speed to the camp.[u]

Aristides immediately repaired to the quarter of the Lacedæmonians. The most prudent plans were there concerted to repulse the enemy: and Pausanias advised a measure that Aristides himself had not dared to propose; which was, to station the Athenians opposite to the Persians, and the Lacedæmonians to the Grecian auxiliaries. By this means, said he, we shall both of us have to combat troops who have already experienced our valour. This resolution taken, the Athenians, at the break of day, passed to the right wing, and the Lacedæmonians to the left. Mardonius penetrating their designs, instantly caused the Persians to file off to his right, and did not recall them to their former post till he saw the enemy return to their first order of battle.[x]

This general considered the motions of the Lacedæmonians only as signs of fear. In the intoxication of his pride, he tauntingly remind-

[u] Plut. in Aristid. p. 327.
[x] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 46. Plut. in Aristid. p. 328.

ed them of their ancient glory, and sent them insulting defiances. A herald dispatched by him to Pausanias carried a proposal to terminate the differences of Persia and Greece by a combat between a certain number of Spartans and Persians. Receiving no answer, he put all his cavalry in motion, which harassed the army of the Greeks during the remainder of the day, and even found means to dam up the fountain of Gargaphia.[y]

Deprived of this their only resource, the Greeks determined to remove their camp a little farther, and into an island formed by two branches of the Asopus, one of which is named Peroe;[z] from whence they proposed to detach half their troops to the pass of Mount Cithæron, to dislodge the Persians who intercepted their convoys.

The camp broke up during the night,* with all the confusion that might be expected from the troops of so many independent states, cooled by inaction, and alarmed by their frequent retreats, as well as the scarcity of provisions. Some repaired to the post assigned them; others, led astray by their guides, or by a panic terror, took refuge near the city of Platæa[a].

The departure of the Lacedæmonians and

[y] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 49. Pausan. lib. 9. cap. 4. p. 718.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 51. Pausan. ibid.
* The night between the 21st and 22d of September.
[a] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 52.

Athenians was delayed till dawn. The latter took the road of the plain; while the Lacedæmonians, followed by three thousand Tegeatæ, defiled along the foot of Mount Cithæron. Having arrived at the temple of Ceres, ten stadia from their former position, and at the same distance from the city of Platæa,[b] they halted for one of their body who had long refused to abandon his post. Here they were overtaken by the Persian cavalry, detached by Mardonius to impede their march. "Behold them!" exclaimed this general to his officers; "behold those intrepid Lacedæmonians, who, we were told, never retreat in presence of an enemy: that vile people, distinguished from the other Greeks, only by excess of cowardice, and who will soon suffer the punishment they justly merit!"[c]

Immediately putting himself at the head of the warlike nation of the Persians, and of his best soldiers, he passed the river, and advanced rapidly into the plain. The troops of the other eastern nations tumultuously followed him, uttering loud shouts; and at the same instant his right wing, composed of the auxiliary Greeks, attacked the Athenians, and prevented them from affording any assistance to the Lacedæmonians.

Pausanias having drawn up his men on a

[b] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 57. [c] Id. ibid. cap. 58.

sloping and uneven spot of ground near a small rivulet and the enclosure consecrated to Ceres,[d] left them long exposed to the darts and arrows of the enemy, against which they did not venture to defend themselves. The entrails of the victims were declared to portend only sinister events. This wretched superstition occasioned the loss of a great number of soldiers, who less regretted the loss of life, than that their death should be of so little utility to their country. At length the Tegeatæ, no longer able to resist the ardour which animated them, began to move, and were soon supported by the Spartans, who had just obtained, or contrived to procure, some favourable omens.[e]

At their approach the Persians threw away their bows, and closing their ranks, covered themselves with their bucklers, forming a compact body, which by its weight and impulse checked and repelled the fury of the enemy. In vain are their bucklers, composed of brittle substance, shivered in pieces; they break the lances that pierce them, and supply the deficiency of their weapons by a ferocious courage.[f] Mardonius, at the head of a thousand chosen soldiers, long held the victory in suspense; but presently he falls, with a mortal wound. The

[d] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 57 et 65. Plut. in Aristid. p. 325. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. p. 24.
[e] Herodot. ibid. cap. 62.
[f] Plut. in Arist. p. 329.

troops attached to his person attempt to avenge his death, and are sacrificed around his body. From this moment the Persian host was shaken, thrown into confusion, and compelled to fly. Their cavalry for some time stopped the progress of the victor, but did not prevent him from reaching the foot of the intrenchment thrown up by the Persians near the Asopus, and in which the remains of their shattered army took refuge.[g]

Similar success had attended the Athenians on the left wing: they had experienced a very obstinate resistance from the Bœotians, but only feeble efforts on the part of the other allies of Xerxes, offended, no doubt, at the haughty conduct of Mardonius, and his obstinacy in persisting to give battle on ground so disadvantageous. In their flight the Bœotians hurried away with them the whole of the Persian right wing.[h]

Aristides, far from pursuing them, immediately proceeded to join the Lacedæmonians, who, little versed in the art of conducting sieges, were employed in fruitless attacks on the fortification by which the Persians were defended. The arrival of the Athenians, and the rest of the confederated troops, did not terrify the besieged, who furiously repulsed the assailants;

[g] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 70.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 67.

but the Athenians at length forcing the intrenchment, and destroying a part of the wall, the Greeks rushed into the camp, and the Persians suffered themselves to be slaughtered like victims.[i]

Artabazus, who had under his command a body of forty thousand men, but who had long been secretly offended at the choice Xerxes had made of Mardonius to command the army, had from the beginning of the battle advanced rather to be a spectator than with any view of contributing to its success. He accordingly no sooner saw the army of Mardonius give ground, than he ordered his troops to follow him; and, in his flight, took the road of Phocis, crossed the sea at Byzantium,[k] and repaired to Asia, where his having saved a part of the army was perhaps imputed to him as a merit. All the remainder, except about three thousand men, perished, either in the intrenchment or the battle.

The nations that most distinguished themselves on this memorable day were, on the one side, the Persians and the Sacæ; and on the other, the Lacedæmonians, the Athenians, and the inhabitants of Tegea. Great encomiums were bestowed by the victors on the valour of Mardonius; as also on the heroic bravery of the

[i] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 70. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 25.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 66 et 89.

Athenian Sophanes, and of four Spartans, at the head of whom we must place Aristodemus, who had resolved on this occasion to free himself from the disgrace of not having sacrificed his life at Thermopylæ. But the Lacedæmonians bestowed no honours on his ashes; they said, that, resolved to die rather than to conquer, he had quitted his rank during the battle, and seemed rather actuated by the courage derived from despair than real valour.[l]

In the mean time the Lacedæmonians and Athenians equally disputed the palm of bravery; the former, because they had beaten the best troops of Mardonius; the latter, because they had forced them in their intrenchments. Both asserted their pretensions with a degree of haughtiness from which it was impossible to recede. Their minds became irritated: the two camps resounded with menaces, and they would have proceeded to blows, but for the prudence of Aristides, who prevailed on the Athenians to refer the question to the decision of the allies. Theogiton of Megara now proposed to the rival states to renounce the prize, and adjudge it to some other people. Cleocritus of Corinth named the Platæans, and all the suffrages were united in their favour.[m]

The ground was covered with the rich spoils

[l] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 71.
[m] Plut. in Aristid. p. 331.

of the Persians; and gold and silver filled their tents. Pausanias delivered the plunder into the custody of the Helots:[n] the tenth part was reserved for the temple of Delphi, and a considerable portion for monuments in honour of the gods. The victors shared the remainder, and brought into their country the first seeds of corruption.[o]

All kinds of honours were conferred on those who had died in arms. Each nation prepared a tomb for its warriors,[p] and Aristides procured a decree to be passed in an assembly of the generals:—That the people of Greece should every year send deputies to Platæa, there to perpetuate, by solemn sacrifices, the memory of those who had lost their lives in the battle; that every five years splendid games should be there celebrated, and called the Festivals of Liberty; and that the Platæans, henceforward exempt from all cares but those of offering up vows for the preservation of Greece, should be considered as an inviolable state, consecrated to the gods.[q]

Eleven days after the battle,* the victors marched to Thebes, and demanded that the inhabitants should deliver up such of the citizens as had induced them to a submission to the

[n] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 80.
[o] Justin. lib. 2. cap. 14.
[p] Herodot. ibid. cap. 85. Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 58.
[q] Plut. in Aristid. p. 331.
* The 3d of October.

Medes. On the refusal of the Thebans, the city was besieged, and in danger of being destroyed, had not one of the principal offenders consented to surrender himself and the rest of his faction into the hands of the allies. They flattered themselves they should be able to redeem their lives by the sacrifice of the great sums of money they had received from Mardonius; but Pausanias, deaf to their offers, sentenced them all to death.[r]

The battle of Platæa was fought on the third of the month Boëdromion,[s] in the second year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad.* On the same day the Grecian fleet, commanded by Leutychides king of Lacedæmon, and Zanthippus the Athenian, gained a signal victory over the Persians,[t] near the promontory of Mycale in Iönia, and the states in that district who had called them to their assistance entered, after the engagement, into the general league.[u]

Such was the conclusion of the war of Xerxes, better known by the name of the Median war: it had continued two years;[x] and never perhaps did such memorable transactions occur in

[r] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 88. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 26.

[s] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 349. Id in Camil. t. i. p. 138. In the life of Aristides, p. 330, he says it was on the 4th.

* The 22d of September of the year 479 before Christ. Dodwell, in Annal. Thucyd. p. 52.

[t] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 90.

[u] Id. ibid. cap. 106.

[x] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 29.

so short an interval, nor ever did similar events operate such rapid revolutions, in the ideas, interests and governments of nations. Their effects were different on the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, according to the diversity of their character and institutions. The former sought for repose after their successes, and suffered only a few marks of jealousy to escape them against the Athenians. The latter suddenly abandoned themselves to the most immoderate ambition, and proposed at once to deprive the Lacedæmonians of the pre-eminence they had hitherto held in Greece, and to protect the Iönians, who had just recovered their liberty, against the Persians.

The different states of Greece at length recovered breath. The Athenians re-established themselves amidst the ruins of their unfortunate city, and rebuilt its walls, notwithstanding the complaints of the allies, who began to dread the increasing glory of that people; and in despite of the representations of the Lacedæmonians, who gave it as their opinion that it would be proper to dismantle all the fortified towns of Greece situate without Peloponnesus, that on any new invasion they might not serve as a retreat for the Persians.[y] Themistocles found means to divert the storm then impending over the

[y] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 90. Plut. in Themist. p. 121. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 31.

Athenians. He still further induced them to make a harbour at the Piræus defended by a strong wall,[z] to build yearly a certain number of galleys, and offer privileges and immunities to strangers, and especially to artists, who should come to settle in their city.[a]

At the same time the allies prepared to restore to their freedom the Grecian cities in which the Persians had left garrisons. A numerous fleet, under the command of Pausanias and Aristides, obliged the enemy to abandon the isle of Cyprus and the city of Byzantium, situate on the Hellespont.[b] These successes completed the ruin of Pausanias, who from this time was incapable of supporting his glory and good fortune with moderation.

He was no longer that rigid Spartan who, in the fields of Platæa, derided the pomp and slavery of the Medes;[c] he was become a satrap, totally subdued by the manners of the vanquished people, and perpetually surrounded by foreign guards, who rendered him inacessible.[d] The allies, who could only obtain from him harsh and humiliating answers, or imperious and sanguinary orders, revolted at length against a tyranny the more odious from the opposite con-

[z] Plut. in Themist. ibid. Nep. in Themist. cap. 6.
[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 33.
[b] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 94. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 34.
[c] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 82.
[d] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 130. Nep. in Pausan. cap. 3.

duct of Aristides, who, to conciliate the minds of men, employed the most powerful of all instruments, mildness and justice. The confederate nations therefore proposed to the Athenians to fight under their orders.[e]

The Lacedæmonians, informed of this defection, immediately recalled Pausanias, who was at once accused of oppression towards the allies, and suspected of a correspondence with the Persians. Sufficient proofs were adduced of his tyranny and oppression, and he was deprived of the command.[f] His treason soon after became equally manifest, and he was put to death.[g] This punishment, however exemplary, did not produce its effect on the allies: they refused to obey the Spartan Dorcis, who succeeded to Pausanias;[h] and this general resigning his command, the Lacedæmonians deliberated on the measures proper to be adopted.

Their claim to command the combined army of the Greeks was founded on the most respectable titles. It had hitherto been admitted by all the nations of Greece, not excepting the Athenians.[i] Sparta had exercised this right, not to extend her dominions, but every where

[e] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 95. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 34. Plut. in Arist. p. 333. Nep. in Aristid. cap. 2.

[f] Id. ibid. cap. 131.

[g] Id. ibid. cap. 134. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 35.

[h] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 95.

[i] Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 2 et 3. Nep. in Arist. cap. 2.

to destroy tyranny.[k] The wisdom of her laws often rendered her the arbiter of the Grecian states; and the equity of her decisions had induced many of them to increase the number of her allies. What a time too was chosen to despoil her of her prerogative! The very moment when, under the conduct of her generals, the Greeks had gained the most brilliant of victories.

Reflections like these filled the Spartans with rage and indignation. They threatened the allies, and were meditating the invasion of Attica, when a senator named Hetæmeridas ventured to represent to the warriors who surrounded him, that their generals, after the most glorious successes, brought nothing back to their country but the seeds of corruption; that the example of Pausanias should make them tremble at the thought of choosing him a successor; and that it was advantageous to the republic to yield to the Athenians the empire of the sea, and the care of continuing the war against the Persians.[l]

This discourse surprised, and quickly calmed the minds of the assembly. The bravest nation in the world was seen to prefer her virtues to her vengeance, and lay aside her jealousy at the voice of reason. The genius of Lycurgus still reigned in Sparta: and never

[k] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 18. Plut. in Lyc. t. i. p. 58.
[l] Thucyd. ib. cap. 75 et 95. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 38.

perhaps did she display more real courage and true greatness.

The Athenians, who, far from expecting such a sacrifice, were prepared to assert their claim by force of arms, admired a moderation which they were incapable of imitating; and, whilst a rival nation was thus divesting itself of a portion of its power, their anxiety was so much the greater to procure the honourable privilege of commanding the fleets of Greece to be confirmed to them by the allies.[m]

This new system of confederation was to be justified by new enterprises, and gave birth to new projects. The first step was to regulate the necessary contributions for continuing the war against the Persians. All the states committed their interests to the integrity of Aristides, who visited all parts of the continent and the islands, informed himself of the produce of the lands, and gave such proofs of intelligence and equity in his whole conduct of this business, that even those on whom the taxes were levied considered him as their benefactor.[n] As soon as this taxation was finished, it was resolved to attack the Persians.

The Lacedæmonians took no part in this deliberation; they were now only intent on peace, while the Athenians breathed nothing but war.

[m] Plut. in Arist. p. 333.
[n] Id. ibid.

This contrariety of views had more than once been displayed. After the battle of Mycale, the people of Peloponnesus, headed by the Lacedæmonians, wished to remove the Iönians to the continent of Greece, and bestow on them the maritime places possessed by the nations which had entered into alliance with the Persians. By this transmigration the Greeks would have been freed from the burden of protecting the Iönians, and the inevitable rupture between Asia and Europe would thus have been, at least for some time, retarded. But the Athenians rejected this proposal, pretending that the fate of their colonies ought not to depend on the allies.[o] It was necessary at least to affix a sort of stigma on the different states of Greece who had joined their forces to those of Xerxes, or remained inactive. The Lacedæmonians proposed to exclude them from the assembly of the Amphictyons: but Themistocles, wishing to procure for his country the alliance of the Argives, Thebans, and Thessalians, represented that, by excluding these states from that assembly, two or three powerful cities would dispose of all the suffrages at their pleasure. He thus defeated the proposition of the Lacedæmonians, and drew on himself their hatred.[p]

He had merited that of the allies by his ex-

[o] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 106.
[p] Plut. in Themist. p. 122.

actions, and the acts of violence which he had exercised in the isles of the Ægean Sea. A multitude of individuals complained of his injustice, others of the riches he had amassed, and all of his inordinate thirst of power. Envy, which carefully collected his most trifling words and actions, enjoyed the cruel pleasure of casting a cloud over his glory. He himself saw it diminish from day to day, and to maintain its splendor he even descended to weary the people with the recital of his exploits, not aware that it is equally dangerous and fruitless to recall to mind forgotten services. He built near his house a temple dedicated to DIANA, THE INSPIRER OF GOOD COUNSELS. This inscription, a memorial of the advice which he had given to the Athenians during the Median war, had the appearance of reproach, and consequently of an insult offered to the nation. His enemies prevailed: he was banished,* and retired to Peloponnesus; but soon after, having been accused of carrying on a criminal correspondence with Artaxerxes, the successor of Xerxes, he was driven from city to city,[q] and constrained to take refuge with the Persians, who honoured in their suppliant vanquisher those talents which had humbled them,

* About the year 471 before Christ.

[q] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 135. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 42. Plut. in Them. p. 122 et 123.

but were now no longer formidable. He died several years after.*

The Athenians were scarcely sensible of this loss, since they possessed Aristides, and Cimon, son of Miltiades. The latter united to the valour of his father the prudence of Themistocles, and almost all the virtues of Aristides, whose example he had studied, and to whose lessons he had ever been attentive.[r] To him was entrusted the command of the Grecian fleet. He set sail for Thrace, made himself master of a city where the Persians had a garrison, destroyed the pirates who infested the neighbouring seas, and spread terror through those islands which had detached themselves from the league.[s]

He soon after sailed from the Piræus with two hundred galleys, which were joined by a hundred others, furnished by the allies. By his presence, or his arms, he obliged the cities of Caria and Lycia to declare against the Persians; and, falling in with the fleet of the latter, consisting of two hundred vessels,[t] off the isle of Cyprus, he sunk part of them, and took the remainder. On the same evening, arriving on the coasts of Pamphylia, where the Persians

* About the year 449 before Christ.

r Plut. in Cim. p. 481.

s Id. ibid. p. 483. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 98.

t Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 100.

had collected a numerous army, he disembarked his troops, attacked and dispersed the enemy, and returned with a great number of prisoners, and a large quantity of rich spoils, which he set apart for the embellishment of Athens.[u]

This double victory was soon followed by the conquest of the Thracian peninsula;[x] and other advantages, gained in the course of several years, successively increased the glory of the Athenians, and their confidence in their troops.

The strength of their allies diminished in the same proportion. Exhausted by a war which daily became more foreign to their interests, the greater part refused to furnish their contingent of ships and soldiers. The Athenians at first employed menaces and violence to compel them; but Cimon, actuated by profounder views, proposed to them to keep at home their troops and their sailors, to increase their pecuniary contributions, and send their galleys, which should be navigated by Athenians.[y] By this artful policy he deprived them of their navy; and, plunging them into a fatal state of repose, gave such a superiority to his country, that she ceased to pay the least attention to the allies. Aristides and Cimon indeed

[u] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 47.
[x] Plut. in Cim. p. 487.
[y] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 99. Plut. in Cim. p. 485.

retained some of them by continued marks of respect; but Athens, by her haughtiness, compelled the others to separate from her alliance, and punished them for their defection by reducing them to slavery.

In this manner she took possession of the isles of Scyros and Naxos;[z] and obliged the inhabitants of the island of Thasos, after a long siege, to rase the walls of their capitol, and resign to the victors their ships, their gold mines, and the territory they possessed on the continent.[a]

These proceedings were manifest infractions of the treaty which Aristides had entered into with the allies, and of which the observance was guarded by the most tremendous oaths. But Aristides exhorted the Athenians to avert on his head the punishment due to their perjuries.[b] It seemed as if virtue itself began to be corrupted by ambition.

Athens was now in a state of continual war; and the object of this war was twofold: the one, of which they made no secret, was to maintain the liberty of the cities of Iönia; the other, which they were unwilling to avow, to wrest that same liberty from all the states of Greece.

[z] Thucyd. lib. I. cap. 98. Plut. in Cim. p. 483.
[a] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 101. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 53. Plut. in Cim. p. 487. [b] Plut. in Arist. p. 334.

The Lacedæmonians, at length roused by the complaints of the allies, had resolved, during the siege of Thasos, to make a diversion in Attica;[c] but at the moment this project was to be carried into execution, Sparta was destroyed by dreadful earthquakes, and a considerable number of its inhabitants perished beneath the ruins. The slaves revolted, several of the cities of Laconia followed their example, and the Lacedæmonians were compelled to implore the assistance of that people whose ambitious progress they had wished to stop.* One of the orators of Athens counselled his countrymen to suffer the only power they had to fear in Greece to sink beneath its calamities; but Cimon, convinced that the rivalry of Sparta was more advantageous to the Athenians even than their conquests, found means to inspire them with more generous sentiments.[d] On various occasions they joined their troops with those of Lacedæmon; and this important service, which should have united the two nations, sowed the seeds of a hatred between them that gave birth to the most fatal wars.[e] The Lacedæmonians, imagining they perceived a secret correspondence between the revolters and the Athenian generals, entreated them, under plausible pre-

[c] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 101.
* About the year 464 before Christ.
[d] Plut. in Cim. p. 489.
[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 49.

tences, to withdraw their forces; but the Athenians, irritated at such a suspicion, broke the treaty by which they had been allied to the Lacedæmonians from the commencement of the Median war, and immediately concluded another with the people of Argos, who had long been the enemies of Sparta.[f]

During these transactions, Inarus, son of Psammetichus, having excited an insurrection in Egypt against Artaxerxes, king of Persia,[g] solicited the protection of the Athenians.* The desire of enfeebling the Persians, and of procuring the alliance of the Egyptians, determined the republic still more than the offers of Inarus. Cimon sailed to Egypt with the allied fleet, consisting of two hundred vessels.[h] He ascended the Nile, and joined that of the Egyptians, who defeated the Persians, and made themselves masters of Memphis, except one quarter of the city, in which the shattered remains of the Persian army had taken refuge. The revolt of the Egyptians was not suppressed till six days after: the valour of the Athenians and other Greeks alone prolonged its duration. After the loss of a battle they defended themselves sixteen months in an island formed by

[f] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 102. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 48. Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 24. p. 339.
[g] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 104. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 54.
* About the year 462 before Christ.
[h] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 110. Plut. in Cim. p. 490.

two branches of the Nile, and most of them perished sword in hand. It must be observed, that Artaxerxes, to oblige the Grecian troops to quit Egypt, had in vain attempted, by offers of rich presents, to induce the Lacedæmonians to make an irruption into Attica.[i]

Whilst the Athenians were making war at a distance to give a king to Egypt, they attacked in Europe the inhabitants of Corinth and Epidaurus; they triumphed over the Bœotians and Sicyonians; they dispersed the fleet of Peloponnesus, and forced the people of Ægina to give up their ships, pay a tribute, and demolish their walls;[k] they sent troops into Thessaly, to restore Orestes to the throne of his ancestors;[l] they kept all the nations of Greece in motion by secret intrigues or adventurous enterprises; furnishing succours to some, and forcing others to supply them; uniting to their territory the countries that lay convenient; forming settlements wherever they were invited by commerce; continually in arms, and continually hurried on to new expeditions by a rapid succession of victories and misfortunes.

Colonies, sometimes consisting of ten thousand men,[m] left their native country to cul-

[i] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 109. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 56.
[k] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 105 et 108. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 59. et 63.
[l] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 111.
[m] Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 54.

tivate the lands of the vanquished.[n] These emigrations, with the frequent wars in which the Athenians engaged, would have depopulated Attica, had not foreigners thronged into this little country, invited by the decree of Themistocles, which there offered them an asylum, and still more by the desire of participating in the glory and advantage of such numerous conquests.

The immoderate ambition of the republic was but too well seconded by able and enterprising generals. Such were Myronides, who took Phocis, and almost all Bœotia, in a single campaign;[o] Tolmidas, who about the same time ravaged the coasts of Peloponnesus;[p] and Pericles, who now began to lay the foundation of his glory, and availed himself of the frequent absence of Cimon to obtain a decisive influence over the minds of the people.

The Athenians did not now wage direct war with Lacedæmon, but exercised frequent hostilities against her and her allies. In concert with the Argives they on one occasion attempted to oppose the return of a body of troops, whom their particular interests had led from Peloponnesus into Bœotia. The battle was fought near the city of Tanagra.* The Athe-

[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 67. Plut. in Per. p. 163.
[o] Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 63. Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 108.
[p] Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 64. Thucyd. ibid.
* About the year 456 before Christ.

nians were defeated, and the Lacedæmonians quietly continued their march.[q] The former now dreaded an open rupture. On these occasions the republic blushed at her injustice, and her leaders laid aside their rivalry. All eyes were turned towards Cimon, whom they had exiled a few years before; and Pericles, who had procured his banishment, undertook to propose the decree for his recall.[r]

This great man, honoured with the esteem of the Spartans, and secure in the confidence of the Athenians, exerted all his endeavours to recall them to pacific views,[s] and prevailed on them at least to sign a truce for five years.* But as the Athenians could no longer bear the inactivity of peace, he lost no time in leading them into Cyprus, where he gained such signal advantages over the Persians, as to compel Artaxerxes to sue for peace as a suppliant.† The conditions were humiliating for the great king, and such as he would himself have dictated to a band of robbers who had infested the frontier of his kingdom. He acknowledged the independence of the Greek cities of Iönia, and it was stipulated that his ships of war should not enter the seas of Greece, nor his land troops approach nearer to the coast than the

[q] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 108. [r] Plut. in Cim. p. 490.
[s] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 112. Plut. ibid.
* The year 450 before Christ.
† The year 449 before Christ.

distance of three days march. The Athenians, on their part, swore to make no inroads on the territories of Artaxerxes.[t]

Such were the laws which a city of Greece imposed on the greatest empire of the world. Thirty years before, the resolution of the same city to resist that power was considered as the mere effect of desperation, and her success as a prodigy. Cimon did not long enjoy his glory: he ended his days in Cyprus. With his death terminated the prosperity of the Athenians; and here I should conclude this part of their history, had I not to collect a few circumstances that characterise the age in which he lived.

When the Persians invaded Greece, two motives of fear induced the Athenians to make a vigorous resistance: the fear of slavery, which in free nations has at all times produced more virtues than the principles of their political institutions; and the dread of public opinion, which among all nations often supplies the place of virtue. The former operated more powerfully on the Athenians, as they began to enjoy that liberty which had cost them two ages of dissensions; the latter they owed to their education and long habit. At this period they were happy under the dominion of that modesty[u] which blushes at licentiousness as well as cow-

[t] Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 74.
[u] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. p. 699.

ardice; which inclines every citizen to confine himself within the limits of his condition, or those assigned him by his abilities; which makes the law a check for the powerful, the practice of his duties a resource for the feeble, and renders the esteem of his fellow-citizens indispensable to every one.

Men shunned employments, because they were worthy of them;[x] none ventured to aspire to distinctions, because the respect of the public sufficed to recompense services rendered to the state. Never were greater actions performed than in this age; never were men more remote from the idea that the glory of such actions should be confined to a few individuals. Statues were erected in honour of Solon, of Harmodius, and Aristogiton; but it was not till after their death. Aristides and Themistocles saved the republic, but that republic did not even decree them a single crown of laurel.[y] When Miltiades, after the battle of Marathon, solicited this honour in the assembly of the people, a person rose up and said: "Miltiades, when you shall alone repulse the barbarians, you alone shall be honoured with a crown."[z] Not long after, some Athenian troops, under the command of Cimon, gaining consi-

[x] Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 328.
[y] Æschin. Orat. cont. Ctesiph. p. 457.
[z] Plut. in Cim. p. 483.

derable advantages in Thrace, on their return, demanded a reward. In the commemorative inscriptions that were engraven, a general eulogium was passed on the troops, but no person was particularly named.[a]

As each citizen might be useful, and was not liable to be humiliated every instant by unjust distinctions, all knew they had it in their power to acquire personal respect; and, as manners were pure and simple, they possessed in general that independence and dignity which men lose only by the multiplicity of wants and interests.

I shall not adduce, as doing honour to this age, the distinguished homage rendered by the Athenians to the integrity of Aristides. This happened at a representation of one of the dramas of Æschylus. The actor having said that Amphiaraus was less anxious to appear a man of worth than really to be so, every eye was immediately turned towards Aristides.[b] A nation that is corrupted might make a similar application; but the Athenians had always more deference for the counsels of Aristides than for those of Themistocles; and this we should not have seen in a corrupted nation.

After their successes against the Persians, the pride attendant on victory[c] united itself in

[a] Æschin. Orat. cont. Ctesiph. p. 458. Plut. in Cim. p. 482. [b] Plut. in Arist. p. 320.
[c] Aristoph. Equit. v. 779.

their hearts with the virtues by which that victory had been procured; and this pride appeared the better founded, as men had never fought in a juster or more important cause.

When a poor and virtuous nation suddenly attains a certain point of elevation, one of two things must necessarily happen; either that to preserve its constitution it shall renounce every idea of aggrandisement, in which case it peaceably enjoys its own esteem, and the respect of other nations, which happened to the Lacedæmonians; or that it shall determine at any rate to increase its power, and then it becomes unjust and oppressive, as was the case with the Athenians.

Themistocles led them astray in the path he pointed out to them; and their other statesmen, far from moderating, seemed only attentive to inflame their ardour.

On the second invasion of the Persians, Miltiades proposed to meet the enemy in the open field.[d] This project was worthy the conqueror of Marathon. That of Themistocles was perhaps still bolder: he ventured to advise the Athenians to trust their fate to a naval combat. There were powerful reasons against this plan of defence. The Athenians scarcely knew how to steer their feeble ships; they had no expe-

[d] Stesimbr. ap. Plut. in Themist. p. 113.

rience in maritime engagements. It was impossible to foresee that Xerxes would attack the Greeks in a strait; and how could Themistocles flatter himself, as he asserted, that he should be able at all events, to force a passage through the Persian fleet, and safely convey the people of Athens to a distant country? However this may be, success justified Themistocles.

But if the establishment of a navy proved the salvation of Athens, it soon became the instrument of her ambition and her ruin.[e] Themistocles, who wished to render his country the most powerful state in Greece, that he might be the first citizen of that state, gave orders to form a new port, to build an additional number of galleys, and put on board the fleet the soldiers, artisans, husbandmen, and the multitude of strangers he had brought to Athens from every nation. After counselling them to spare the states on the continent who had joined Xerxes, he attacked without mercy the islands which had been under the necessity of submitting to the Persians:[f] he seized on their treasures; and on his return to his country purchased partisans, whom he retained and disgusted by his ostentation. Cimon and the other generals, enriched by the same means, displayed a mag-

[e] Isocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 393.
[f] Plut. in Themist. p. 122.

nificence hitherto unknown. After the example of Themistocles, they had now no other object but to concur in the aggrandisement of the republic; an idea that prevailed in every mind.

The people, elated with pride at seeing their generals lay at their feet the spoils and the voluntary or forced submissions of the cities united to their dominions, impetuously dispersed themselves over all the seas, and appeared on every coast, multiplying conquests which insensibly perverted the character of the national valour: for those courageous soldiers, who had braved death in the fields of Marathon and Platæa, now servilely occupied in maritime operations, were, for the most part, employed only in attempting cautious descents, surprising defenceless towns, and ravaging abandoned fields:—a species of war that teaches men to estimate their comparative strength, to approach the enemy with care and fear, and to take to flight without a blush.[g]

The national manners received the fatal blow which an intercourse with foreigners, the rivalry of power or influence, the spirit of conquest, and the thirst of gain, inevitably give to a government founded on virtue. That multitude of obscure citizens who served on board the fleets, and to whom the republic owed every

[g] Plat. de Leg. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 706.

attention, since she owed to them her glory; contracted in their expeditions the vices of pirates, and, becoming every day more enterprising, ruled without controul in the public assembly, and transferred the authority into the hands of the multitude—an almost unavoidable consequence in a state possessing a flourishing navy.[h] Two or three anecdotes will show how very soon the principles of right and equity became enfeebled among the people.

After the battle of Platæa, Themistocles publicly declared that he had conceived an important project, the success of which could only be secured by the most impenetrable secrecy. The people answered: "Let it be communicated to Aristides, we refer it to him." Themistocles drew the latter aside, and said to him: "The fleet of our allies is now lying, without suspicion, in the port of Pegasæ; I propose to burn it, and we are masters of Greece." "Athenians," said Aristides, "nothing can be more for your interest than the project of Themistocles; but nothing can be so unjust." We will hear no more of it, exclaimed the whole assembly with one voice.[i]

Some years after the Samians proposed to the Athenians to violate an article of the treaty en-

[h] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 3. p. 389 et 390. Plut. in Them. p. 121.

[i] Plut. in Arist. p. 332. Id. in Themist. p. 122.

tered into with the allies. The people asked the opinion of Aristides: "The proposal of the Samians is unjust," answered he, "but it is to your interest." The people approved the project of the Samians.[k] In a word, after a short interval of time, and under Pericles, the Athenians, on more occasions than one, had the insolence to avow that they were acquainted with no other law of nations than that of force.[l]

SECT. III.

AGE OF PERICLES.*

PERICLES very early perceived that his birth and riches gave him claims to power, and rendered him suspected by his fellow-citizens. His fears were augmented by other circumstances. Some old men, who had known Pisistratus, thought they discovered him again in the young Pericles, who they affirmed had the same features, the same tone of voice, and the same powers of eloquence.[m] It was necessary to obtain a pardon for this resemblance, and its concomitant advantages. Pericles dedicated his early years to the study of philosophy, without

[k] Plut. in Arist. p. 334.
[l] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 89, &c.
* From the year 444 to the year 404 before Christ.
[m] Plut. in Pericl. p. 155.

interfering in public affairs, and appeared to court no other distinction but that of valour.[n]

After the death of Aristides, and the exile of Themistocles, Cimon took the reins of government; but, frequently occupied with distant expeditions, left the Athenians to fluctuate between several candidates, incapable of fixing their confidence. Pericles was now seen to withdraw himself from society, renounce pleasures, and attract the attention of the multitude by a solemn step, a decent carriage, a modest exterior, and irreproachable manners.[o] At length he appeared in the assembly, and his first essays astonished the Athenians. He was indebted to nature for making him the most eloquent of men, and to study for rendering him the first of the orators of Greece.[p]

The celebrated masters who had instructed his infancy, continuing to guide him by their counsels, taught him the first principles of politics and morals. His genius made their knowledge his own.[q] Hence that profundity, that plenitude of information, that force of style, which he could occasionally soften, those graces which he did not neglect but never affected,

[n] Plut. in Pericl. p. 155.
[o] Id. ibid. p. 154 et 155.
[p] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 11. t. i. p. 345. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 96.
[q] Plut. in Per. p. 156.

and other innumerable great qualities that enabled him to persuade such as he could not convince, and to impel even those who were alike insensible to persuasion and conviction.

His discourses discovered a commanding majesty that overwhelmed the mind. This was the fruit of his conversations with the philosopher Anaxagoras, who, by explaining to him the principles and phænomena of nature, seemed to have raised to still greater sublimity the natural elevation of his mind.[r]

Nor was the dexterity with which he pressed his adversaries and eluded their pursuits less admired. For this he was indebted to the philosopher Zeno of Elea, who had more than once conducted him through the mazes of a captious logic, to discover to him its secret issues.[s] One of the greatest antagonists of Pericles therefore often said—"When I have got him down, and am holding him under me, he cries out that he is not vanquished, and persuades every body to believe him."[t]

Pericles knew the Athenians too well not to found his hopes on his eloquence, and was too well acquainted with the excellence of that endowment not to be the first to respect it. Before he appeared in public, he secretly endeavoured strongly to impress his mind with the

[r] Plut. in Per. p. 156. [s] Id. ibid. p. 154.
[t] Id. ibid. p. 156. Id. Præc. Ger. Reip. t. ii. p. 802.

idea that he was about to address freemen, Greeks, and Athenians.[u]

He refrained, notwithstanding, as much as possible, from appearing at the assembly; because, always intent on pursuing gradually the project of raising himself to power, he feared by new successes to obliterate the impression made by those which he had before obtained, and too precipitately to carry the admiration of the people to that point whence it only can descend. The public judged that an orator who disdained the applauses he was certain of receiving merited the confidence he did not seek, and that the affairs which he proposed for discussion must be important indeed, since they had constrained him to break silence.[x]

A high idea was formed of the power he had over his own passions, when one day that the assembly continued its deliberations until night, they saw him perpetually interrupted and insulted by an obscure individual, who followed him with revilings even to his house, where Pericles coolly directed one of his slaves to take a flambeau and light the man home.[y]

When it was observed, in short, that he displayed in every thing not only the talent, but even the virtue adapted to circumstances; in his domestic life, the simplicity and frugality

[u] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 186.
[x] Plut. in Per. p. 155. [y] Id. ibid. p. 154.

of ancient times; in the administration of public affairs, an unalterable disinterestedness and probity; in the command of armies, a careful attention to leave nothing to chance, and to risk his reputation rather than the safety of the state;[z] men concluded that a mind capable of contemning praise and insult, wealth, superfluities, and even glory itself, could not but possess that noble zeal for the public good which annihilates all other passions, or at least concentrates them in a single sentiment.

It was this illusion above all that raised Pericles; and he found means to maintain the character which he had acquired for the space of nearly forty years,[a] in the midst of an enlightened people, jealous of their authority, and who were as easily tired of their admiration as of their obedience.

He first shared the public favour before he obtained it undivided. Cimon was at the head of the nobles and the rich; Pericles declared in favour of the multitude he despised, which gave him a considerable party. Cimon, who by lawful means had acquired an immense fortune in his expeditions, employed it in embellishing the city and in relieving the wretched. Pericles, by the ascendancy he had gained, disposed of the public treasure of the Athenians and their allies, filled Athens with the noblest

[z] Plut. in Per. p. 161, 162, &c. [a] Id. ibid. p. 161.

productions of art, assigned pensions to the poorest citizens, distributed among them part of the conquered lands, augmented the number of the festivals, and granted an emolument to those who sat as judges in the courts, and those who should be present at the spectacles and general assemblies.[b] The people seeing only the hand that gave, shut their eyes to the source from whence it drew. They became more and more united to Pericles, who, to attach them still more strongly to himself, rendered them the accomplices of the repeated acts of injustice of which he was guilty, and made use of them to strike those great strokes, which, by displaying power, augment it. He procured the banishment of Cimon, on a false accusation of maintaining a suspicious correspondence with the Lacedæmonians;[c] and, under frivolous pretexts, destroyed the authority of the Areopagus, which vigorously opposed its influence to his innovations and the growing licentiousness of the times.[d]

After the death of Cimon, Thucydides, his brother-in-law, laboured to re-animate the tottering party of the principal citizens. He possessed not the military talents of Pericles; yet, equally skilful with him in managing the incli-

[b] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 336. Plut. in Per. p. 156 et 157.
[c] Plut. in Cim. p. 489.
[d] Id. in Per. p. 157.

nations and prejudices of the public, he for some time maintained an equilibrium, but at length was condemned to banishment by the ostracism.[e]

From this moment Pericles changed his system: he had subjugated the party of the rich by flattering the multitude; and he now subjugated the multitude by restraining their caprices, sometimes by an invincible opposition, and at others by the wisdom of his counsels or the charms of his eloquence.[f] Every thing was governed by his will, though every thing was apparently transacted according to the established laws and customs: and liberty, lulled into security by the observance of the republican forms, imperceptibly expired under the weight of genius.

In proportion as Pericles augmented his power, he was less lavish of his influence and his presence. Confining himself to a small circle of relations and friends, he was supposed to be solely occupied with plans for the pacification or disturbance of Greece; while, from his retirement, he kept a vigilant eye over the different branches of government. The Athenians, docile to the impulse, implicitly obeyed the first mover, because they rarely saw him court their suffrages; and equally extravagant

[e] Plut. in Per. p. 158 et 161.
[f] Id. ibid. p. 161.

in their expressions as their sentiments, they represented Pericles only under the semblance of the most potent of the gods. Was his voice heard on important occasions, they exclaimed that Jupiter had entrusted him with his thunder and his lightning:[g] did he, on others, act only by the mediation of his creatures, they reflected that the sovereign of the skies committed to subordinate genii the details of the government of the universe.

Pericles extended, by splendid victories, the dominions of the republic; but when he saw the Athenian power attain to a certain point of elevation, he deemed it disgraceful to suffer it to decline, and a misfortune any farther to augment it. All his operations were governed by this consideration; and it was the triumph of his politics so long to have retained the Athenians in inaction, while he held their allies in dependence, and kept Lacedæmon in awe.

The Athenians, full of the consciousness of their power,—of that consciousness which in the higher ranks produces haughtiness and pride, but in the multitude insolence and ferocity,—no longer confined their views to the sovereignty of Greece, but meditated the conquest of Egypt, Carthage, Sicily, and Etruria. Pericles suffered these vast projects to evaporate, and

[g] Aristoph. in Acarn. v. 529. Plut. in Per. p. 156. Cic. Orat. cap. 9. t. i. p. 426.

only was the more attentive to the conduct of the allies of Athens.[h]

The republic successively broke through those ties of equality which had formed the confederation between them and their allies: they imposed a yoke on them more humiliating than the conditions they had exacted from the barbarians, as it is more easy to accustom men to submit to violence than to injustice. Among other subjects of complaint, the allies reproached the Athenians with applying to the embellishment of their city the sums annually granted by them all to carry on the war against the Persians. Pericles answered, that the fleets of the republic secured her allies from the insults of the barbarians, and that she had no other engagement to fulfil.[i] On this Eubœa, Samos, and Byzantium, revolted; but Eubœa soon after returned to her obedience,[k] Byzantium brought again the customary tribute,[l] and Samos, after a vigorous resistance, indemnified the Athenians for the expences of the war, delivered up her ships, demolished her walls, and gave hostages.[m]

The Peloponnesian league had now a new proof of the despotism the Athenians exercised

[h] Isocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 402. Plut. in Per. p. 164.
[i] Plut. in Per. p. 158.
[k] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 114. Diod. Sic. lib. 12 p. 75.
[l] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 117.
[m] Id. ibid. Plut. in Per. p. 167.

over their allies, and to which they would one day subject their enemies. Alarmed for a long time past at the rapidity of their progress, and by no means relying on the subsisting treaties, confirmed by a truce of thirty years,[n]* the confederates would more than once have stopped the course of their victories, had they been able to overcome the extreme repugnance of the Lacedæmonians to every kind of war.

Such was the disposition of men's minds among the Grecian states. Pericles was odious to some, and formidable to all. His reign, for so his administration may be called,[o] had not been shaken by the clamours of envy, and still less by the satires or sallies of pleasantry launched against him from the theatre, or in society. But to that species of vengeance which consoles the people for their weakness at length succeeded confused murmurs, mingled with a gloomy inquietude that presaged an approaching revolution. His enemies, not daring directly to attack him, tried their weapons against those who had merited his protection or his friendship.

Phidias, entrusted with the superintendance of the superb monuments which decorate Athens, was accused of having embezzled part of the gold he had received to enrich the statue

[n] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 115.

* The year 445 before Christ. Dodwell, in Annal. Thucyd. p. 104.

[o] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 65. Plut. in Per. p. 156.

of Minerva. He proved his innocence, but nevertheless ended his days in prison. Anaxagoras, the most religious perhaps of the philosophers, was judicially prosecuted for the crime of impiety, and obliged to fly. The spouse, the tender friend of Pericles, the celebrated Aspasia, accused of having insulted religion by her conversation, and good morals by her conduct, pleaded her own cause; and the tears of her husband with difficulty saved her from the severity of her judges.[p]

These attacks were but the prelude of those intended against Pericles himself, when an unforeseen event revived his hopes, and more firmly established his authority.

Corcyra had for some years been at war with Corinth,[q] from which city she derives her origin. By the general law of Greece a foreign power is not to intermeddle in the differences between a mother-country and her colonies. But it was the interest of the Athenians to attach to themselves a people with a flourishing navy, and whose situation enabled them to favour the passage of their fleets into Sicily and Italy. They admitted the Corcyreans into their alliance, and sent them succours; on which the Corinthians loudly complained that the Athenians had broken the truce.

[p] Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 95. Plut. in Per. p. 169. Philoch. ap. Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. v. 604.
[q] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 25, &c.

Potidæa, another colony of the Corinthians, had taken part with the Athenians. The latter, suspecting their fidelity, ordered the Potidæans not only to give them hostages, but to demolish their walls, and to expel the magistrates annually sent them, conformably to custom, by the mother-country. Potidæa upon this joined the Peloponnesian league, and was laid siege to by the Athenians.[r]

Some time before, the Athenians, under some frivolous pretext, had excluded from their ports and markets the inhabitants of Megara, the allies of Lacedæmon.[s] Other cities had been likewise deprived of their laws and liberties.

Corinth, wishing to excite a general war, espoused their quarrels, and found means to engage them to demand exemplary satisfaction through the Lacedæmonians, the chiefs of the Peloponnesian league.[t] The deputies of these different cities arrive at Lacedæmon: they are assembled, and display their grievances with equal asperity and vehemence; they relate their past sufferings, their future apprehensions, and utter all that a just vengeance can dictate, or jealousy and hatred inspire. When the minds of the assembly are prepared to receive still stronger impressions, one of the Corinthian ambassadors takes up the subject,[u] and reproaches

[r] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 56.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 67. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 96.
[t] Thucyd. ibid. [u] Id. ibid. cap. 68.

the Lacedæmonians with that good faith, which forbids them to suspect the insincerity of others; and that moderation imputed to them as a merit, which renders them so indifferent to the interests of the neighbouring powers. "How often have we apprised you," say they, "of the projects of the Athenians! and how necessary is it again to remind you of them! Corcyra, whose navy might, on occasion, so powerfully assist us, has entered into their alliance; Potidæa, the city which secured our possessions in Thrace, is about to fall into their hands. We accuse none but you as the authors of our losses; you, who, after the Median war, permitted our enemies to fortify their city, and extend their conquests; you, who are the protectors of liberty, yet by your silence favour slavery; you, who deliberate when it is time to act, and who never think of your defence till the enemy falls on you with all his forces. It is still fresh in our memories, that the Medes issuing from the depth of Asia had over-run all Greece, and penetrated even into Peloponnesus, whilst you remained inactive in your houses. It is not against a distant nation you will have to fight; but against a people at your doors; against those Athenians whose resources and character you have never known, and with which you still are unacquainted: a people ardent in forming projects; skilful in varying them according to circumstances; so

prompt in their execution, that to desire and to possess are with them the same thing; so presumptuous as to imagine themselves robbed of those conquests they have not been able to effect; and so grasping as never to limit themselves to those they have obtained: a bold and turbulent nation, whose courage rises with danger, as their hope increases with misfortune; who regard indolence as a torment, and whom the gods in their anger have cast upon the earth, never to know repose, nor ever to suffer it to be enjoyed by others.

"What have you to oppose to so many advantages? Projects beneath your powers, diffidence in the wisest resolutions, tardiness in your operations, discouragement at the slightest check, dread of extending your domains, negligence in preserving them. Your whole conduct, and every principle on which you act, is as injurious to the repose of Greece as to your own safety. Not to attack any one; to be always prepared against an attack; these means do not always appear to you sufficient to secure the happiness of a people. You wish never to repel insult, but when some real prejudice results from it to the country—a fatal maxim, which, if adopted by the neighbouring nations, would scarcely secure you from their invasions.

"O Lacedæmonians! your conduct is too strongly tinctured with the simplicity of the first

ages. Other times demand other manners, and another system. Unchangeable principles can suit only a state certain of enjoying an uninterrupted peace; but when, by her connections with other nations, the interests of a city become more complicated, she must recur to a more refined policy. Abjure then, after the example of the Athenians, that integrity which cannot accommodate itself to events; lay aside that indolence which keeps you shut up within the precincts of your walls; make an irruption into Attica, and force not your allies, your faithful friends, to throw themselves into the arms of your enemies. Then, placed at the head of the nations of Peloponnesus, you will show yourselves worthy of the empire our ancestors bestowed on your virtues."

Some Athenian deputies, brought by other affairs to Lacedæmon, desired to speak; not to reply to the accusations they had heard, the Lacedæmonians were not their judges; they wished only to induce the assembly to suspend a decision which might be followed by the most fatal consequences.[x]

They reminded the Lacedæmonians with much complacency of the battles of Marathon and Salamis. These the Athenians had gained: they had expelled the barbarians, and saved Greece. A people capable of such great

[x] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 72.

achievements doubtless merited some attention. "Envy," said they, "now imputes to them as a crime the authority they exercise over part of the Grecian states; but it is Lacedæmon who has transferred to them that right: they preserve it, because it could not be abandoned without danger: they exert it however with mildness, and not with severity; and if they are sometimes obliged to employ rigour, it is from the impossibility of retaining the weak in subjection by other means than force. Let Lacedæmon cease to listen to the unjust complaints of the allies of Athens, and the jealous anger of her own: let her, before she takes a part in the dispute, reflect on the importance of the interests about to be discussed, and on the uncertainty of the events which may follow a decision. Away with that intoxication that allows nations only to listen to the voice of reason, when they have sunk into the depths of misery; which makes every war terminate only where it should have begun. There is yet time, and we may bring our differences to an amicable conclusion, by the mode prescribed to us by treaties: but if, in contempt of oaths, you break the truce, we will take the gods, the avengers of perjury, to witness, and prepare for the most vigorous defence."

Having ended this harangue, the ambassadors quitted the assembly; and king Archi-

damus, who united long experience to profound wisdom, perceiving, from the agitation of men's minds, that war was inevitable, was desirous at least to retard the decisive moment.

"People of Lacedæmon," said he,[y] "I have been witness to many wars, as have also several amongst you, and am for that very reason but the more disposed to fear for the event of that you are about to undertake. Without preparations, and without resources, you are going to attack a nation expert in naval affairs, formidable from the number of its soldiers and its ships, and rich from the productions of its country and the tributes of its allies. What is to inspire you with this confidence? Is it your fleet? What a length of time will it require to restore it! Is it the state of your finances? We have no public treasury,[z] and individuals are poor. Is it the hope of detaching from Athens her allies?[a] But as the greater part of them are islanders, you must be masters of the sea, to excite and maintain their defection. Is it the project of ravaging the plains of Attica, and of terminating this mighty quarrel in one campaign? Alas! do your imagine that the loss of a single harvest, so easily repaired in a country with a flourishing commerce, will engage the Athenians to sue to you for peace? There is

[y] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 79.
[z] Plut. Apopth. Lac. t. ii. p. 217.
[a] Thucyd. ibid.

far greater reason to fear that we shall be compelled to leave this war as a wretched inheritance to our children! The hostilities of cities and individuals are transient; but when war is once enkindled between two powerful states, it is as difficult to foresee the consequences as to extricate ourselves with honour.

"I am not of opinion that we should abandon our allies to oppression: I only say that, previous to taking arms, we should send ambassadors to the Athenians, and open a negotiation. They have proposed to us this mode; and it were injustice to refuse it. In the interval we shall address ourselves to the nations of Greece, and, since necessity requires it, to the barbarians themselves, in order to obtain succours in money and ships. If the Athenians reject our complaints, we will repeat them after two or three years preparations, when we shall perhaps find them more tractable.

"The tardiness imputed to us has always constituted our security: never have praises or reproaches excited us to rash enterprises. We are not skilled enough to depreciate, by eloquent harangues, the power of our enemies; but we know that, to enable us to conquer, we must esteem them, judge of their conduct by our own, guard ourselves against their prudence as well as against their valour, and reckon less upon their errors than on the wisdom of our

own precautions. We are of opinion that one man does not differ from another, but that the most formidable is he who, on critical occasions, conducts himself with the most prudence and wisdom.

"Let us not deviate from the maxims we have received from our fathers, and which have preserved this state. Deliberate at leisure; let not a single moment decide on your property, your glory, the blood of so many citizens, and the fate of so many nations; let war be prepared for, but declare it not; make your preparations as if you expected nothing from your negotiations; and reflect that these measures are the most useful to your country, and the best adapted to intimidate the Athenians."

The harangue of Archidamus would perhaps have prevented the Lacedæmonians from immediately resolving on war, had not Sthenelaidas, one of the ephori, to divert its effect, immediately exclaimed[b]:

"I can understand nothing of the verbose eloquence of the Athenians: their own eulogium is their inexhaustible theme, but they never utter a single word which makes for their defence. The more irreproachable their conduct in the Median war, the more disgraceful is it at this day; and I declare them doubly culpable, since they were virtuous, and have

[b] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 86.

ceased to be so. As for us, ever the same, we will not betray our allies, but defend them with the same ardour with which they are attacked. The question however is not now respecting speeches and discussions; it is not by words that our allies have been injured. The most speedy vengeance alone can now befit the dignity of Sparta. And let it not be said that we should deliberate after receiving an insult; our enemies should have deliberated before they insulted us. Give your voices then for war, O Lacedæmonians! and at length prescribe some limits to the injustice and ambition of the Athenians. Let us march, secure of the protection of the gods, against these oppressors of liberty."

He spoke, and instantly called on the people to give their suffrages. Many of the assembly supported the opinion of the king; but the greater number voted that the Athenians had broken the truce, and it was determined to convoke a general council of their allies to proceed to a final resolution.

All the deputies being arrived, the question was again discussed, and war determined on by the plurality of voices.[c] As no preparations however were yet made, the Lacedæmonians were desired to send deputies to the Athenians, and to lay before them the complaints of the confederated states of Poloponnesus.

[c] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 125.

The object of the first embassy was only to obtain the banishment of Pericles, or to render him odious to the multitude.[d] The ambassadors made a pretext of motives foreign from the differences in question, and which made no impression on the Athenians.

New deputies offered to continue the truce. They proposed some conditions, and finally limited their demands to the revocation of that decree which interdicted the commerce of Attica to the inhabitants of Megara.[e] Pericles replied, that the laws did not allow them to remove the tablet on which this decree was inscribed. "If you cannot remove it," said one of the ambassadors, "only turn it; your laws do not forbid that."[f]

In fine, in a third embassy, the deputies contented themselves with saying: "The Lacedæmonians desire peace, and make it depend only on one point. Permit the Grecian cities to govern themselves according to their laws."[g]

This last proposition was discussed, as well as the preceding ones, in the assembly of the people. Opinions being divided, Pericles lost no time in mounting the rostrum. He represented, that, conformably to treaties, the differences arising between the contracting cities ought to

[d] Thucyd. lib. I. cap. 126.
[e] Id. ibid. cap. 129.
[f] Plut. in Per. p. 168.
[g] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 139.

be discussed by specific methods, and that in the interim each should enjoy what it possessed. "In contempt of this formal decision," said Pericles, "the Lacedæmonians imperiously signify to us their will, and, leaving us no alternative but war or submission, command us to renounce the advantages we have gained over their allies. Do they not publicly declare that peace depends solely on the decree passed against Megara? and do not several among you cry out, that so trifling a subject should not induce us to take up arms? Athenians, such offers are but a palpable snare; we must reject them, till they treat with us on a footing of equality. Every nation that pretends to dictate laws to a rival nation, holds out chains to it. Should you give way on a single point, they will imagine they have made you fear them, and from that hour will impose on you still more humiliating conditions.[h]

"And what have you at present to apprehend from that crowd of nations who differ as much in their character as in their origin? What prolixity in the convocation of their assemblies! What confusion in the disscussion of their interests! They employ one moment in consulting for the general welfare, but appropriate the remainder of their time to their particular advantages. These think only of their

[h] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 140.

vengeance; those of nothing but their safety; and almost all of them, relying on each other for their preservation, rush, without perceiving it, on their common ruin."[i]

Pericles next showed that the Peloponnesian allies not being in a condition to make many campaigns, the best method to ensure success would be to weary them out, and oppose a war by sea to their attacks by land. "They will make inroads," continued he, "into Attica; but our fleets will ravage their coasts, and they will be unable to repair their losses, whilst we shall have lands enough to cultivate, either in the islands or on the continent. The empire of the sea gives such a superiority, that were you in an island, no power would venture to attack you. No longer consider Athens as any other than a fortress, separated as it were from the land; line the walls that defend it, and fill the ships that are in its harbours with soldiers. Let the adjacent country be considered as foreign to you, and become the prey of the enemy before your eyes. Do not yield to the senseless rashness of opposing your valour to the superiority of numbers. A victory would soon draw upon you greater armies; a defeat excite those allies we retain in their duty only by force to a revolt. It is not for the destruction of your estates that you should weep, but for the loss

[i] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 141.

of soldiers you must incur in a battle. Oh! did I but possess the powers of persuasion, I would propose to you this very instant to carry fire and sword through our fields, and the buildings with which they are covered; that the Lacedæmonians might learn no longer to regard them as pledges of our servitude.[k]

"I should have other promises of certain victory to offer you, were I assured that, from the apprehension of adding new dangers to those of war, you would not strive to combat with the view of conquest; for I am more fearful of your errors than of the projects of the enemy. But we must now answer the deputies; first, that the Megareans shall be allowed still to trade with Attica, if the Lacedæmonians will no longer forbid us and our allies to enter their city; secondly, that the Athenians will restore to the states they have subjected the liberty they formerly enjoyed, if the Lacedæmonians will do the same by the cities which depend on them; thirdly, that the league of Athens offers that of Peloponnesus amicably to terminate the differences which at present subsist between them."[l]

After this answer, the Lacedæmonian ambassadors withdrew, and both sides employed themselves in preparations for the longest and

[k] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 143.
[l] Id. ibid. cap. 144.

most fatal war that ever desolated Greece.* It lasted seven-and-twenty years;[m] and originated in the ambition of Athens, and the well-founded fears which the Lacedæmonians and their allies entertained of her increasing power. The enemies of Pericles accused him of having promoted it; and it seems undeniable that it was useful to the re-establishment of his authority.

The Lacedæmonians had for their allies the Bœotians, Phocians, and Locrians, the people of Megaris, Ambracia, Leucas, Anactorium, and all Peloponnesus, except the Argives, who observed a neutrality.[n]

On the side of the Athenians were the Grecian cities situate on the coasts of Asia, those of Thrace and the Hellespont, almost the whole of Acarnania, some other smaller cities, and all the islands, except Melos and Thera. Besides these auxiliaries, they were themselves able to furnish the league with thirteen thousand soldiers heavy armed, twelve hundred cavalry, sixteen hundred archers on foot, and three hundred galleys. Sixteen thousand men, chosen from among the citizens too old or too young for the service of the field, and the strangers settled in Athens, were employed to defend

* In the spring of the year 431 before Christ.

[m] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 26.

[n] Id. lib. 2. cap. 9. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 99.

the walls of the city and the fortresses of Attica.[o]

Six thousand talents* were deposited in the citadel. In case of need, upwards of five hundred more† might be procured by melting down the sacred vessels, and other resources which Pericles pointed out to the people.

Such were the forces of the Athenians, when Archidamus, king of Lacedæmon, after halting at the Isthmus of Corinth, and receiving from each confederated city of Peloponnesus two thirds of the inhabitants able to bear arms,[p] advanced slowly towards Attica at the head of sixty thousand men.[q] He attempted to renew the negotiation, and with that view sent an ambassador to the Athenians, who refused to receive him, and commanded him instantly to quit the territories of the republic.[r] Archidamus then continuing his march, spread his army, in the time of harvest, over the plains of Attica. The wretched inhabitants had retired at his approach,[s] and transported their effects to Athens, where the greatest part of them found no other asylum but the temples, the tombs, the towers

[o] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 99.
* 32,400,000 livres (or £.1,350,000 sterling.
† 2,700,000 livres (or £.112,500 sterling.)
[p] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 10.
[q] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 170.
[r] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 12.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 14.

of the ramparts, the obscurest hovels, and the most desolate places. To their regret at having left their ancient and peaceful habitations was added the afflicting circumstance of beholding at a distance their houses consumed by the flames, and the fruits of their fields abandoned to the sword of the enemy.[t]

The Athenians, constrained to endure insults aggravated by the recollection of so many glorious exploits, vented their rage and indignation in the most furious exclamations against Pericles, who held their valour enchained.[u] But that statesman answering only by his silence to either their prayers or menaces, dispatched a fleet of a hundred sail for Peloponnesus,[x] and repressed the public clamour solely by the energy and dignity of his character.

Archidamus, no longer finding subsistence in Attica, led back his army, laden with plunder, into Peloponnesus. The Lacedæmonians and their allies returned home, and did not again make their appearance for the remainder of the year. After their retreat, Pericles sent a squadron against the Locrians, which gained some advantages.[y] The grand fleet, after spreading desolation along the coasts of Peloponnesus, took, in its return, the island of At-

[t] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 17 et 21.
[u] Id. ibid. cap. 22.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 23. Plut. in Pericl. p. 170.
[y] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 26.

tica;[z] and soon after the Athenians marched in a body against the inhabitants of Megara, and ravaged their country.[a] The following winter they honoured by public funerals those who had fallen in battle; and Pericles eternized their renown in an eloquent harangue. The Corinthians fitted out forty galleys, made a descent in Acarnania, and retreated with loss.[b] Thus terminated the first campaign.

Those which succeeded, in like manner present only a succession of partial actions, hasty excursions, and enterprises that seem foreign to the object proposed on either side. Whence happened it that nations so warlike, and such near neighbours, animated by an ancient jealousy, and recent animosities, should attempt nothing but to surprise and avoid each other, to divide their forces, and, by a multitude of desultory diversions without splendour or danger, to multiply and prolong the miseries of war? The cause certainly could only be the impossibility of conducting this war in the manner of any other.

The Peloponnesian league was so superior in land forces, that the Athenians could not risk a general action without exposing themselves to certain ruin. The states which formed that

[z] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 27.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 31.
[b] Id. ibid. cap. 33 et 34.

league were ignorant of the art of attacking towns: they had recently failed before a little fortress of Attica,[c] nor did they afterwards gain possession of the city of Platæa in Bœotia, defended by a feeble garrison, till after a blockade of nearly two years, which compelled the inhabitants to surrender for want of provisions.[d] How therefore could they flatter themselves that they should be able to take by assault, or reduce by famine, such a city as Athens, which could be defended by thirty thousand men, and which, being mistress of the sea, might be easily supplied with the necessary subsistence?

All the enemy could effect, therefore, was to destroy the harvests of Attica, which they regularly practised in the first year of the war; but these incursions were necessarily but transient, since the invaders, being extremely poor, and wanted at home for their rustic labours, could not long remain in arms and in a distant country.[e] They at length resolved to augment the number of their ships; but many years were requisite to acquire the knowledge of managing them, and to attain that experience which the practice of fifty years had procured to the Athenians.[f] The skill of the latter was so decidedly

[c] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 19.

[d] Id. ibid. cap. 78; lib. 3. cap. 20. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 102 et 109.

[e] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 141.

[f] Id, ibid, cap. 142.

superior at the commencement of the war, that their smallest squadrons did not hesitate to attack the largest fleets of the Peloponnesians.[g]

In the seventh year of the war,* the Lacedæmonians, to save four hundred and twenty of their soldiers[h] besieged by the Athenians in an island, demanded peace, and delivered up about sixty galleys, which were to be restored to them in case the prisoners were not set at liberty. They never were given up, and the Athenians detaining the vessels,[i] the Peloponnesian navy was destroyed. Its restoration was retarded by various incidents until the twentieth year of the war, when the king of Persia engaged by promises and treaties to provide for its maintenance.[k] The Lacedæmonian league now covered the sea with their ships;[l] the two states attacked each other more directly, till, after alternate successes and reverses of fortune, the power of Athens yielded to that of the Lacedæmonians and their allies.

Nor were the Athenians on their side more able to give law to Greece by the number of their ships, than their enemies by their numerous land forces. When the former appeared with their fleets in places where the Pelopon-

[g] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 88.
* About the year 424 before Christ.
[h] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 8.
[i] Id. ibid. cap. 16 et 23.
[k] Id. lib. 8. cap. 5. 18, 36, 45, &c.
[l] Id. ibid. cap. 3.

nesians had possessions, their utmost attempts were confined to laying waste a part of the coast, making themselves masters of a defenceless town, and levying contributions without venturing to penetrate into the country. Was it necessary to lay siege to some strong hold in a distant country, though they possessed more resources than the Lacedæmonians, the tediousness of the operations exhausted their finances, and the inconsiderable number of troops they were able to employ. The taking of Potidæa cost them a great number of soldiers, the labour of two years and a half, and two thousand talents.*[m]

Thus, from the extreme diversity of forces, and their excessive disproportion, the war was inevitably spun out to a great length. And this Archidamus and Pericles,[n] the two ablest politicians of Greece, had foreseen; with this difference, that the former imagined that delay was what the Lacedæmonians had most to fear, and the latter, that it was a desirable circumstance for the Athenians.

It was by no means difficult likewise to foresee that the conflagration would break out, be extinguished, and rage anew at intervals amongst all the different states. As the neigh-

* 10,800,000 livres (or £.450,000 sterling.)

[m] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 64; lib. 2. cap. 70. Dodwell, in Thucyd. p. 114. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 102.

[n] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 81 et 141.

bouring cities were divided by separate interests, and some detached themselves, on the slightest pretext, from the confederation, whilst others remained a prey to factions perpetually fomented by Athens and Lacedæmon, war was waged between state and state in the same province, between city and city in the same state, and between party and party in the same city.

Thucydides, Xenophon, and other celebrated authors, have depicted the miseries resulting from these long and fatal dissensions. Without following them through minute details only interesting to the people of Greece, I shall relate a few of the events which more particularly respect the Athenians.

At the commencement of the second year, the enemy returned into Attica, and the plague broke out in Athens.[o] Never did this dreadful scourge ravage so many climates. Proceeding from Æthiopia, it had visited Egypt, Libya, part of Persia, the isle of Lemnos, and other places. A merchant ship had no doubt brought it into the Piræus, where it made its first appearance, and whence it spread with fury over the city, and raged more particularly in those obscure and unwholesome dwellings in which the inhabitants of the country were crowded together.

The malady successively attacked all parts

[o] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 47.

of the body:[p] its symptoms were dreadful, its progress rapid, and its termination almost always fatal. From the first appearance of infection the mind lost its powers, the body seemed to acquire new strength, and it was a cruel suffering to resist the disorder without being able to support the pain. Sleepless nights, terrors, continual hiccups, and violent convulsions, were not the only torments endured by the sick. A burning heat devoured their entrails. The wretched sufferers, covered with ulcers and livid spots, their eyes inflamed, their lungs oppressed, their bowels torn with agony, and exhaling a fetid odour from their mouths polluted with an impure blood, were seen dragging the miserable remains of themselves through the streets to seek a freer respiration; and, unable to extinguish the burning thirst which consumed their vitals, throwing themselves into wells, or rivers covered with floating ice.

The greatest part perished on the seventh or ninth day; or, if their lives were prolonged beyond that term, they only suffered a more painful and more lingering death.

Such as did not sink under the malady were scarcely ever attacked a second time:[q]—a feeble consolation! for they now presented to the eye only the wretched relics of themselves.

[p] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 49. Plut. in Pericl. p. 171. Diod. Sic. p. 101. Lucr. lib. 6.
[q] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 51.

Some had lost the use of several of their limbs; others retained no idea of the past: happy doubtless in the unconsciousness of their condition; but, alas! they were unable to recognize their friends![r]

The same mode of treatment alternately produced salutary and injurious effects; the disorder seemed to set all rules and experience at defiance. As it likewise raged in many of the Persian provinces, king Artaxerxes resolved to invite to their assistance the celebrated Hippocrates, then in the isle of Cos:[s] he made him the most splendid offers of wealth and honours, but the great man replied to the great king, that he had neither wants nor desires, and that he owed his skill to Greece rather than to her enemies.[t] He then came to offer his services to the Athenians, who received him the more gratefully, as the greater part of their physicians had fallen victims to their zeal. He exhausted all the resources of his art, and often exposed his life. If he obtained not all the success due to such noble and generous conduct, and such superior talents, he at least distributed hope and consolation. It is said that, to purify the air, he caused great fires to be kindled in the streets of Athens.[u] Others assert that this method

[r] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 49.
[s] Suid. in Hippocr.
[t] Plut. in Cat. t. i. p. 350. Galen. Quod. Opt. Med. t. i.
[u] Ap. Hippocr. t. ii. p. 970.

was employed not unsuccessfully by a physician of Agrigentum, named Acron.[x]

At the beginning of this dreadful calamity sublime examples of filial piety and generous friendship were displayed; but as the consequences proved almost always fatal to the actors, they were but rarely repeated afterwards. Then the most respectable ties were broken; the eyes about to close for ever, beheld on all sides only the deepest solitude,[y] and death no longer drew forth a tear.

This callous insensibility gave birth to an unbridled licentiousnes. The loss of so many worthy men, mingled without distinction in the same tomb with ruffians; the destruction of so many fortunes, become suddenly the inheritance or prey of the lowest citizens, made a lively impression on those who have no other principle but fear. Persuaded that the gods no longer protected or regarded virtue, and that the vengeance of the laws could not be so prompt as the death impending over them, they imagined that the instability of human possessions pointed out the use that they should make of them, and that, having but a few moments to live, they were justified at least in passing them in the midst of pleasures.[z]

At the end of two years the plague seemed

[x] Plut. de Isid. et Osir. t. ii. p. 383.
[y] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 51.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 53.

to be appeased. During this interval of cessation it was more than once discovered that the seeds of the contagion were not eradicated. It broke out again eighteen months after, and during the course of a whole year renewed the same scenes of distress and horror.[a] At both these times a great number of citizens perished; among whom are to be reckoned near five thousand men able to bear arms. The most irreparable loss was that of Pericles, who died of the consequences of this distemper[b] in the third year of the war.* Some time before, the Athenians, exasperated by the extremity of their sufferings, had deprived him of his authority, and condemned him to a fine; but they had recently acknowledged their injustice, and Pericles had granted them his forgiveness,[c] though he resumed his authority with disgust, from the fickleness of the people, and the loss of his family and the greater part of his friends, who had been carried off by the plague.

When he was about to yield his last breath, and no longer showed any signs of life, the leading men of Athens, assembled around his bed, were soothing their affliction by recounting his victories and the number of his trophies: " These actions," said he to them, raising him-

[a] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 87.
[b] Id. lib. 2. cap. 65. Plut. in Per. p. 173.
* The year 429 before Christ, near the autumn.
[c] Plut. in Pericle. p. 172.

self up with difficulty, "are the work of fortune, and common to myself with other generals. The only eulogium I merit, is that I have never been the cause of any citizen wearing mourning."[d]

If, conformably to the plan of Pericles, the Athenians had continued an offensive war by sea, and a defensive one by land:[e] if, renouncing every idea of conquest, they had not risked the safety of the state by rash enterprises, they sooner or later must have triumphed over their enemies, as they on the whole did them more injury than they could suffer from them, and as the league they headed was almost entirely under their command, whilst that of Peloponnesus, composed of independent nations, might every instant be dissolved. But Pericles died, and was succeeded in his authority by Cleon.

This man was of no family, nor possessed of any real talents, but vain, daring, and violent,[f] and on that account acceptable to the multitude. He had attached them to him by his largesses: he retained them by inspiring them with a high idea of the power of Athens, and a sovereign contempt for that of Lacedæmon.[g] He it was who, one day assembling his friends, declared to them that, being on the point of

[d] Plut. in Per. p. 173.
[e] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 65.
[f] Id. lib. 3. cap. 36. Plut. in Nic. p. 524.
[g] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 28.

administering the public affairs, he renounced all connections that might possibly induce him to commit injustice.[h] He was, notwithstanding, the most greedy and most unjust of men.

The honest part of the citizens opposed to him Nicias, one of the most considerable and wealthiest citizens of Athens, who had commanded armies and obtained several advantages. He had gained the favour of the multitude by festivals and acts of liberality:[i] but as he was diffident of himself and of fortune,[k] and his successes had only served to render him more timid, he obtained respect, but never a superiority of influence in the public assemblies. Reason spoke coldly from his mouth, whilst the people required strong emotions, and Cleon excited them by his declamations, his noise, and furious gestures.[l] The latter succeeding by accident in an enterprise that Nicias had refused to undertake, the Athenians, who had ridiculed their own choice, from that moment abandoned themselves with more confidence to his counsels. They rejected proposals of peace which had been made by the enemy,[m] and placed him at the head of the forces they were sending into Thrace to check the progress of Brasidas, the ablest general of Lacedæmon. He

[h] Plut. an Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 806. [i] Id. in Nic. p. 524.
[k] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 16.
[l] Plut. in Nic. p. 528.
[m] Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. v. 647 et 664.

there drew upon himself the contempt of both armies; and, approaching the enemy without caution, suffered his army to be surprised, was one of the first to fly, and lost his life.[n]

After his death, Nicias no longer finding any obstacle to peace, entered into negotiations, which were soon followed by an offensive and defensive alliance,* by which the Athenians and Lacedæmonians were to be firmly united for fifty years.[o] The conditions of the treaty restored every thing to the same situation in which it had been previous to the commencement of the war. Ten years however had elapsed since that period, and both states had been enfeebled to no purpose.

At length they flattered themselves they should be able to taste the sweets of tranquillity; but their alliance gave birth to new leagues and new dissensions. Several of the allies of Lacedæmon complained of not being comprehended in the treaty; and, uniting with the Argives, who had hitherto remained neuter, declared against the Lacedæmonians. On the other hand, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians reciprocally charged each other with not fulfilling the articles of the treaty: hence arose misunderstandings and hostilities. But it was not until the expiration of six years and ten

[n] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 10.
* The year 421 before Christ.
[o] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 17, 18, &c.

months* that they proceeded to an open rupture; a rupture founded on the most frivolous pretext, and which might easily have been prevented, had not war been necessary to the ambitious projects of Alcibiades.

Some historians have stigmatized the memory of this Athenian with every reproach, and others honoured it with every eulogium, without its being possible for us to charge the former with injustice, or the latter with partiality.[q] It seems as if nature had exerted herself to unite in him the most striking extremes she can produce either of vice or virtue.[r] We shall here consider him as connected with the state, the ruin of which he accelerated; and afterward as related to the society of which he completed the corruption.

An illustrious birth, considerable riches, a prepossessing figure, the most seductive graces, a discerning and comprehensive mind, the honour, in fine, of a connection with Pericles, such were the advantages that first dazzled the Athenians, and with which none were so soon dazzled as himself.[s]

At an age when we stand in need only of advice and indulgence, he had a train of flat-

* The year 414 before Christ.

[p] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 25.

[q] Nep. in Alcib. cap. 11.

[r] Id. ibid. cap. 1.

[s] Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 104. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 130. Plut. in Alcib. &c.

terers; he astonished his masters by his docility, and his fellow-citizens by the licentiousness of his conduct. Socrates, who early foresaw that this young man would prove the most dangerous, if he did not become the most useful of the citizens of Athens, studiously sought his friendship, obtained it by assiduous attention, and never lost it.[t] He undertook to moderate that vanity which could neither bear a superior or an equal; and such was the ascendancy of reason or of virtue, on these occasions, that the disciple wept over his errors, and suffered himself to be humbled without a murmur.[u]

When he entered the path of popular honours, he wished to owe his success less to the splendor of his magnificence and liberalities than to the charms of his eloquence.[x] He made his appearance in the rostrum. A slight defect of pronunciation gave to his speech all the simple and native graces of early youth;[y] and though he sometimes hesitated to find the proper word, he was regarded as one of the greatest orators of Athens.[z] He had already given proofs of his valour; and from his first campaign all presaged that he would one day become the

[t] Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 103. Id. in Conv. t. iii. p. 215, &c.

[u] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 193 et 194.

[x] Id. ibid. p. 195.

[y] Id. ibid. p. 192. Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 44.

[z] Demosth. in Mid. p. 626. Plut. in Alcib. p. 196. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 130.

ablest general in Greece. I shall say nothing of his mildness, his affability, nor of innumerable other qualities which concurred to render him the most amiable of men.

That elevation of sentiment produced by virtue was not to be sought in his heart; but in it was found that intrepidity[a] which is inspired by the consciousness of superiority. No obstacle, no danger, could either surprise or discourage him; he seemed persuaded that when minds of a certain order do not perform all they wish, it is because they have not courage to attempt all they can. Compelled by circumstances to serve the enemies of his country, it was as easy for him to acquire their confidence by the ascendancy which he had over them, as to govern them by the wisdom of his counsels. He possessed this pre-eminence peculiar to himself, that he uniformly procured a triumph for the party that he favoured, and that his numerous great actions were never tarnished by a single reverse of fortune.[b]

In negotiations he sometimes employed the light of his understanding, which was as vigorous as it was profound; sometimes he had recourse to stratagems and perfidy, which no reasons of state can ever justify;[c] on other occa-

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 191.

[b] Plut. in Coriol. p. 233. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 6.

[c] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 45; lib. 8. cap. 82. Plut. in Alcib. p. 198.

sions he availed himself of the pliability of a character which the thirst of power or the desire of pleasing accommodated without difficulty to every conjuncture and change of situation. In every nation he commanded respect, and swayed the public opinion. The Spartans admired his frugality; the Thracians his intemperance; the Bœotians his love of the most violent exercises; the Iönians his taste for indolence and voluptuousness; the satraps of Asia a luxury which they could not equal.[d] He would have shown himself the most virtuous of men, had he never known the example of vice; but vice hurried him on without making him its slave. It should seem as if the profanation of laws and the corruption of manners were considered by him only as so many victories gained over manners and the laws; it might be said too that his faults were no more than the errors of his vanity. Those excesses of levity, frivolity, and imprudence, which escaped his youth or idle hours, were no longer seen on occasions that demanded firmness and reflection. He then united prudence with activity;[e] and pleasure never stole from him any of those moments which were necessary to the advancement of his glory or the promotion of his interest.

His vanity must have sooner or later degene-

[d] Plut. in Alcib. p. 203. Nep. ibid. cap. 11.
[e] Plut. ibid. p. 211. Nep. ibid. cap. 1.

rated into ambition: for it was impossible but that a man so superior to others, and so inflamed with the desire of ruling, should have concluded by exacting obedience, after exhausting admiration. Accordingly he was all his life jealously watched by the leading citizens, some of whom dreaded his talents, others his excesses;[f] and alternately adored, feared, and hated by the people, to whom he had rendered himself necessary:[g] and as the sentiments of which he was the object were converted into violent passions, it was with paroxysms of joy or fury[h] that the Athenians raised him to honours, condemned him to death, banished, recalled, and a second time proscribed him.

One day, when from the height of the rostrum he had gained the suffrages of the people, and was returning home escorted by the whole assembly, he was met by Timon, usually called the misanthropist, who, shaking him by the hand, said: "Courage, my boy! continue to advance thyself to power and honour, and I shall be indebted to thee for the ruin of Athens."[i]

In another moment of intoxication, the lower order of the people proposed to restore the kingly power in his favour;[k] but as he would

[f] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 15. Plut. in Alcib. p. 198.
[g] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1472.
[h] Justin. lib. 5. cap. 4.
[i] Plut. in Alcib. p. 199. [k] Id. ibid. p. 210.

not have been contented with being only a king, the petty sovereignty of Athens was not sufficient for his ambition; that could only be satisfied by a vast empire which would enable him to conquer others.

Born in a republic, he wished to raise her above herself, before he attempted to lay her at his feet. This undoubtedly was the secret of those splendid enterprises into which he hurried the Athenians. With their soldiers he would have subjected nations, and the Athenians would have found themselves imperceptibly enslaved.

His first disgrace, by checking him almost at the outset of his career, only shows us this truth, that his genius and projects were too vast for the happiness of his country. It has been said, that Greece could not bear two Alcibiades':[1] It should be added, that Athens had one too many. He it was who determined her to undertake the Sicilian war.

The Athenians had for some time meditated the conquest of that rich and powerful island. Their ambition, repressed by Pericles, was strenuously seconded by Alcibiades. Flattering dreams traced out every night to his imagination the immortal glory which was about to crown him. Sicily was only to be the theatre

[1] Archest. ap. Plut. in Alcib. p. 199.

of his first exploits; in fancy he had already made himself master of Africa, Italy, and Peloponnesus; and he every day amused with his vast projects the impetuous youth who followed his footsteps, and who were entirely at his disposal.[m]

Whilst affairs were thus circumstanced, the city of Ægesta in Sicily, which complained of being oppressed by the inhabitants of Selinus and Syracuse, implored the assistance of her allies the Athenians; she offered to indemnify them for their expences, and represented, that if they did not speedily stop the progress of the Syracusans, that people would not be long before they joined their troops to those of Lacedæmon. The republic sent deputies into Sicily, who on their return made an unfaithful report of the state of things. The expedition was resolved on, and Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, were named for generals; and so certain did the Athenians deem themselves of success, that the senate previously regulated the fate of the different states of Sicily.

The sensible part of the citizens, however, were the more alarmed at these proceedings, as they had hitherto no accurate idea of the extent, forces, and riches of that island.[n] Notwithstanding the law which forbids the revocation

[m] Plut. in Alcib. p. 199.
[n] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 1.

of a decree passed by all the orders of the state, Nicias remonstrated with the assembly, that the republic not having been able yet to terminate the differences which had arisen between her and the Lacedæmonians, the subsisting peace was no more than a suspension of arms; that her true enemies were in Peloponnesus, who only waited the departure of the army to pour into Attica; that the quarrels of the Sicilian cities had no connexion with the Athenians; that it was the height of extravagance to sacrifice the safety of the state to the vanity or the interest of a young man anxious to display his magnificence in the sight of the army; that such citizens were formed only for the ruin of the state, by ruining themselves; and that it as ill became them to deliberate on such weighty enterprises as to carry them into execution.[o]

"I behold with many fears," added Nicias, "that numerous band of youth who surround him, and whose suffrages he directs. Respectable old men, I solicit your voices, in the name of your country; and you, magistrates, call the people once more to the question, and, if the laws forbid it, reflect that the first of laws is the preservation of the state."

Alcibiades now addressed the assembly, and represented, that the Athenians, by protecting oppressed nations, had attained their present

[o] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 8.

height of glory and of power;[p] that it was no longer permitted them to abandon themselves to a repose too capable of enervating the courage and spirit of their troops; that they would one day be subjected themselves, if from the present moment they did not subject others; that many of the Sicilian cities were peopled only by barbarians or foreigners insensible to the honour of their country, and ever ready to change masters; that others, weary of their divisions, waited only the arrival of the fleet, to submit to the Athenians; that the conquest of this island would facilitate that of all Greece; that, on the slightest reverse of fortune, they would find an asylum in their ships; that the splendor of this expedition alone would astonish the Lacedæmonians; and that, should the latter hazard an irruption into Attica, it would succeed no better than the former.

As for the reproaches which personally regarded him, he answered, that his magnificence had hitherto served only to inspire the nations of Greece with a high idea of the power of the Athenians, and to procure a sufficient degree of authority to himself, in order to detach whole nations from the Peloponnesian league. "Besides," added he, "since I am to share the command of the army with Nicias, if my youth and follies have given any alarm, you will take

[p] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 18.

courage from the good fortune that has always crowned his undertakings."[q]

This harangue inspired the Athenians with new ardour. Their first project was to send only sixty galleys into Sicily. Nicias, indirectly to divert them from it, represented that, besides the fleet, a land army would be necessary; and drew a terrifying picture of the preparations, expences, and number of troops such an expedition would require; when a voice from the midst of the assembly exclaimed: "Nicias, we have nothing more to do with all these subtleties; inform us explicitly what number of soldiers and ships you judge actually necessary."[r] Nicias answering that he would consult on the subject with the other generals, the assembly gave them full power to dispose of all the forces of the republic.

The troops were ready to embark,[s] when Alcibiades was accused of having, with some companions of his debaucheries, mutilated the statues of Mercury which the inhabitants of Athens place before their houses, and represented, at the conclusion of an entertainment, the ceremonies of the awful mysteries of Eleusis. The people, who would have pardoned him every thing on any other occasion, breathed

[q] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 17. [r] Id ibid. cap. 25.
[s] Id ibid. cap. 27. Plut. in Alcib. p. 200. Nep. ibid. cap. 3

nothing but rage and vengeance. Alcibiades, though at first terrified at the public indignation, soon found himself encouraged by the favourable disposition of the fleet and army. He appeared before the assembly, and endeavoured to clear himself from the suspicions raised against him, offering himself to death, if he should be found guilty, but demanding an exemplary satisfaction should his innocence be proved. His enemies however procured his trial to be delayed till his return, and obliged him to depart under the weight of an accusation which held the sword suspended over his head.

The general rendezvous, as well for the Athenians as their allies, was appointed at Corcyra;[t] from whence the fleet, consisting of three hundred sail, took its departure, and proceeded to Rhegium at the extremity of Italy.* It had on board five thousand one hundred heavy armed soldiers, among whom were the chosen troops of the Athenians. To these were added four hundred and eighty archers, seven hundred slingers, some other light troops, and a small body of cavalry.

The generals had required no greater forces; Nicias never thought of making himself master of Sicily; Alcibiades imagined that to subdue that island nothing more was necessary than to

[t] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 42, 43, &c.
* The year 415 before Christ.

sow divisions. Each of these generals manifested his views in the first council they held before the opening of the campaign. Their instructions prescribed to them, in general terms, to regulate the affairs of Sicily in the manner the most advantageous for the interest of the republic: their particular orders were to protect the Ægestians against the inhabitants of Selinus; and if, circumstances would permit, to engage the Syracusans to restore to the Leontines the possessions of which they had deprived them.[u]

Nicias was for adhering to the letter of this decree, and intended, after putting it into execution, to carry back the fleet to the Piræus.[x] Alcibiades maintained, that, as it was undoubtedly necessary to signalize such great efforts of the Athenians by some important enterprises, deputies should be sent to the principal cities of Sicily, to excite them against the Syracusans, to procure troops and provisions for them; and by the effect of these various negotiations, to determine whether to lay siege to Selinus or Syracuse. Lamachus, the third general, proposed to march instantly against the latter city, and take advantage of the panic into which the inhabitants had been thrown by the arrival of the

[u] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 8.
[x] Id. ibid. cap. 47.

Athenians.[y] The port of Megara, contiguous to Syracuse, would contain the fleet, and a victory could not fail to produce a revolution in Sicily.

The opinion of Lamachus would probably have been justified by success. The Syracusans had taken no precautions against the storm that menaced them; for they could with difficulty persuade themselves that the Athenians would be so mad as to attempt the conquest of such a city as Syracuse. "The people of Athens," exclaimed one of their orators, "should think themselves happy that we have never thought of bringing them under subjection to us."[z]

This project not being agreeable to the two other generals, Lamachus decided in favour of the opinion of Alcibiades. Whilst the latter had taken Catana by surprise, and Naxos had opened her gates to him; whilst his intrigues were on the point of forcing those of Messana,[a] and his hopes were beginning to be realised,[b] a galley sailed from the Piræus with an order for his immediate return to Athens. His enemies had prevailed, and summoned him to appear to answer the accusation of which they had hitherto suspended the prosecution. They did

[y] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 49.
[z] Id. ibid. cap. 36.
[a] Id. ibid. cap. 51. Plut. in Alcib. p. 202.
[b] Nep. in Alcib. cap. 4.

not dare to arrest him, for fear of an insurrection of the soldiers, and the desertion of the allied troops, who, in general, had come into Sicily only at his request.[c] He had at first determined to stand his trial, and confound his accusers; but when he arrived at Thurium, reflecting on the injustice of the Athenians, he eluded the vigilance of his guards, and retired into Peloponnesus.[d]

His departure spread discouragement through the army. Nicias, who feared nothing when it was necessary to execute, and every thing when an enterprise was to be planned, suffered the ardour which Alcibiades had excited among the soldiers to subside in inactivity or easy conquests. Yet he saw the moment when an enterprise, the consequences of which he had always dreaded, was on the point of being crowned with the most brilliant success. He had at length determined to lay seige to Syracuse, and conducted his attacks with so much ability, that the inhabitants were inclined to surrender. Already several states of Sicily and Italy had declared in his favour, when a Lacedæmonian general named Gylippus entered the besieged city, with a few troops which he had brought from Peloponnesus, or collected in Sicily. Nicias might have prevented him from landing in the

[c] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 61. Plut. in Alcib. p. 200.
[d] Plut. ibid. p. 202.

island, but lost the opportunity;[e] an irreparable fault, which proved the source of all his misfortunes. Gylippus revived the courage of the Syracusans, defeated the Athenians, and held them blocked up in their entrenchments. Athens sent to Sicily another fleet consisting of about seventy three galleys, under the command of Demosthenes and Eurymedon, and a second army of five thousand men heavily armed, and some light troops.[f]

Demosthenes having lost two thousand men at the attack of an important post, and considering that the sea would soon be no longer navigable, and that the troops were wasting away by sickness, proposed to abandon the enterprise, or transport the army to some healthier situation.[g] When they were on the point of setting sail. Nicias, terrified at an eclipse of the moon, which spread consternation through the camp, consulted the augurs, who directed him to wait twenty-seven days longer.[h]

Before the expiration of this time, the Athenians, vanquished by sea and land, no longer able to remain under the walls of Syracuse for want of provisions, nor to escape out of the harbour, the mouth of which was shut up by the Syracusans, took the resolution to abandon

[e] Thucyd. lib. 6. cap. 104.
[f] Id. lib. 7. cap. 42.
[g] Id. ibid. cap. 47 et 49. Justin. lib. 4. cap. 5.
[h] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 50.

their camp, their sick, and their ships, and retire by land into some town of Sicily. They began their march, to the number of forty thousand men,[1] including not only the troops furnished them by the states of Italy and Sicily, but the crews of the galleys, the workmen, and slaves.

In the mean time the Syracusans took possession of the defiles of the mountains and the fords of the rivers; they broke down the bridges, seized on the heights, and dispersed various detachments of cavalry and light troops over the plain. The Athenians, harassed and impeded at every step, found themselves perpetually exposed on every side to the weapons of an enemy whom they were no where able to attack. In this distress they were animated to persevere by the example of their generals, and the exhortations of Nicias, who notwithstanding the debility to which he was reduced by a long illness, displayed a courage superior to danger. For eight whole days they had to struggle against new obstacles continually increasing. But Demosthenes, who commanded the rear-guard, composed of six thousand men, losing his way in his march, was pushed into a confined place, and, after prodigies of valour, obliged to surrender on condition that his soldiers should have

[1] Thucyd. lib. 7. cap. 75.

their lives granted them, and be spared the horrors of a dungeon.[k]

Nicias having failed in a negociation which he had entered into, conducted the remainder of his army as far as the river Asinarus.[l] On his arrival there, the greater part of the soldiers, tormented by a burning thirst, rushed in confusion into the river, while others were driven into it by the enemy. Such as attempted to save themselves by swimming found on the opposite shore steep banks lined with dartmen, who made a terrible slaughter of them. Eight thousand men perished in this attack;[m] till at length Nicias thus addressed Gylippus: "Dispose of me as you shall think proper; but show mercy at least to these unhappy soldiers." Gylippus immediately put an end to the carnage.

The Syracusans returned to their city, bringing back with them seven thousand prisoners,[n] who were thrown in the quarries, where, for many months, they experienced inconceivable miseries. Numbers of them perished there, and others were sold as slaves. A still greater number of prisoners became the prize of the officers and soldiers; and all ended their days in chains, except a few of the Athenians, who owed their liberty to the tragedies of Euripides,

[k] Thucyd. lib. 7. cap. 82.
[l] Id. ibid. cap. 84.
[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 148.
[n] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 87.

then scarcely known in Sicily, being generously rewarded with freedom by their masters, for reciting to them the most beautiful passages of that poet.[o] Nicias and Demosthenes were put to death, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Gylippus to save their lives.[p]

Athens, depressed by so unexpected a reverse of fortune, saw the prospect of still greater calamities. Her allies were ready to shake off the yoke; the other states of Greece were conspiring her ruin;[q] the Peloponnesians already thought themselves justified by her example in breaking the truce.[r] Already she discovered in their operations, more skilfully planned and conducted, the spirit of vengeance, and the superior genius by which they were directed. Alcibiades enjoyed at Lacedæmon that respect and influence he every where obtained. It was by his advice that the Lacedæmonians adopted the resolution of sending succours to the Syracusans, renewing their inroads into Attica, and fortifying, at the distance of one hundred and twenty stadia from Athens, the post of Decelia, which held that city blocked on the land side.[s]

To annihilate the power of Athens, it was necessary to favour the revolt of her allies, and

[o] Plut. in Nic. p. 542.
[p] Thucyd. lib. 7. cap. 86.
[q] Id. lib. 8. cap. 2.
[r] Id. lib. 7. cap. 19.
[s] Id. lib. 6. cap. 91. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 4.

destroy her navy. Alcibiades repaired to the coasts of Asia Minor; and Chios, Miletus, and other flourishing cities, declared for the Lacedæmonians.[t] By his accomplishments he captivated Tissaphernes, the governor of Sardes;[u] and the king of Persia engaged to pay the fleet of Peloponnesus.[x]

This second war, conducted with more regularity than the former, would quickly have been terminated, had not Alcibiades, pursued by Agis king of Lacedæmon, whose wife he had seduced, and by the other chiefs of the league, who took umbrage at his glory, at length considered that, after revenging himself on his country, it now only remained for him to protect it from inevitable ruin.[y] With this view he contrived to suspend the operations of Tissaphernes, and the departure of the Persian succours, under the pretext that it was the interest of the great king to suffer the nations of Greece mutually to enfeeble each other.[z]

The Athenians having soon after revoked the decree for his banishment, he puts himself at their head, reduces the strong holds of the Hellespont,[a] forces one of the Persian governors

[t] Thucyd. lib. 8. cap. 12 et 17.
[u] Plut. in Alcib. p. 204.
[x] Thucyd. ibid. cap. 5. Justin. lib. 5. cap. 2.
[y] Plut. ibid. p. 204.
[z] Justin. lib. 5. cap. 2.
[a] Plut. ibid. p. 206.

to sign an advantageous treaty with the Athenians,[b] and the Lacedæmonians to sue for peace.[c] Their demand was rejected; for deeming themselves invincible henceforward under Alcibiades, the Athenians rapidly passed from the utmost consternation to the most insolent presumption. The hatred with which they were animated against that general was as quickly succeeded by the most extravagant gratitude, and the most unbounded affection.

When he returned to his country, his arrival, his stay, the pains he took to justify his conduct, were a series of triumphs for himtelf, and of public rejoicings for the multitude.[d] When, amidst the acclamations of the whole city, they saw him sail from the Piræus with a fleet of a hundred ships, no doubt was entertained but that his rapid victories would soon force the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus to submit to the law of the conqueror; the arrival of a courier was every moment expected with the news of the destruction of the enemy, and the conquest of Iönia.[e]

In the midst of these flattering expectations, they learned that fifteen of the Athenian galleys had fallen into the hands of the Lacedæmonians.

[b] Plut. in Alcib. p. 208.
[c] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 177.
[d] Nep. in Alcib. cap. 6. Plut. ibid. p. 209. Justin. lib. 5. cap. 4.
[e] Plut. ibid. p. 211.

The engagement took place during the absence, and in contempt of the precise orders, of Alcibiades, who had been obliged to pass into Iönia to levy contributions for the subsistence of his troops. On the first intelligence of this check, he instantly returned, and offered battle to the victor, who did not venture to accept it.[f] He had retrieved the honour of Athens; the loss was trifling, but it sufficed for the jealousy of his enemies. They exasperated the people, who stripped him of the general command of the armies with as much precipitation as they had manifested in investing him with that dignity.

The war was still continued for some years, always by sea, and terminated by the battle of Ægos-Potamos, gained by the Peloponnesians in the strait of the Hellespont. Lysander, the Lacedæmonian who commanded them,[g] surprised the Athenian fleet of one hundred and eighty sail, and made himself master of it, with three thousand prisoners.*

Alcibiades, who since his retreat had settled in the adjacent country, warned the Athenian generals of the danger of their situation, and of the want of discipline among their soldiers

[f] Plut. in Alcib. p. 211. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p. 442.

[g] Xenoph. lib. 2. p. 455 et 457. Plut. in Lysandr. p. 440.

* The year 405 before Christ.

and seamen: but they despised the counsels of a man fallen into disgrace.[h]

The loss of the battle brought on that of Athens, which surrendered for want of provisions, after a few months siege.* Several of the allied powers proposed to destroy the city; but Lacedæmon, attentive to her glory rather than her interest, refused to impose chains on a nation which had rendered such eminent services to Greece:[i] she however condemned the Athenians not only to demolish the fortifications of the Piræus, as well as the long wall that joins the harbour to the city, but to deliver up all their galleys except twelve; to recall their exiles; to withdraw their garrisons from the cities they had taken; to form an offensive and defensive league with the Lacedæmonians, and to follow them by sea and land whenever they should receive orders.[k]

The walls were thrown down to the sound of instruments, as if Greece had recovered her liberty;[l] and some months after, the victors permitted the people to elect thirty magistrates, who were to establish another form of govern-

[h] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 456. Plut. in Alcib. p. 212. Nep. in Alcib. cap. 8.

* About the end of April of the year 404 before Christ.

[i] Xenoph. ibid. p. 460. Isocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 399. Andoc. de Pace, p. 26.

[k] Xenoph. ibid. p. 460. Diod. Sic. lib. 3. p. 226.

[l] Xenoph. ibid. Plut. in Lysandr. p. 441.

ment, and who concluded by usurping the sovereign authority.[m]*

They first exerted their power to put to death a multitude of slanderous informers, odious to all honest men; next to destroy the enemies of their usurpation; and soon after to murder all those whose riches they wished to seize. Some Lacedæmonian troops granted them by Lysander, and three thousand citizens they had associated with them to support their authority, openly defended these acts of injustice.[n] The nation, disarmed, suddenly fell into a state of extreme servitude. Exile, imprisonment, and death, were the lot of all who declared against the tyranny, or seemed to condemn it by their silence. It continued but eight months;[o] and in this short interval upwards of fifteen hundred citizens were cruelly massacred and deprived of funeral honours.[p] The greater part abandoned a city where neither the victims nor the witnesses of oppression dared to utter a complaint: for the sufferer was required to be mute, and the compassionate to conceal his pity.

Socrates alone did not permit himself to be

[m] Lys. in Eratosth. p. 192. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 461. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 236.

* About the summer of the year 404 before Christ.

[n] Lys. ibid. p. 227. Xenoph. ibid. p. 463.

[o] Corsin. Fast. Att. t. iii. p. 264.

[p] Isocr. in Areop. t. i. p. 345. Demosth. in Timocr. p. 782. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 466.

shaken by the cruel injustice of the times; he ventured to console the unfortunate, and resist the orders of the tyrants.[q] But it was not his virtue that alarmed them; they dreaded with more reason the genius of Alcibiades, on whose measures they kept a watchful eye.

He was then in a small town of Phrygia, under the government of Pharnabazus, from whom he received every mark of distinction and friendship. Informed of the levies which the Younger Cyrus was making in Asia Minor, he concluded that this prince meditated an expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, and determined to repair to the court of the king of Persia, to apprise him of the danger, and to obtain succours for the deliverance of his country. But assassins sent by the satrap suddenly surrounded his house, and, wanting the courage to attack him, set fire to it. Alcibiades rushed forth sword in hand through the flames, repulsed the barbarians, and fell beneath a shower of darts.[r] He was then forty years of age. His death fixes a stain on Lacedæmon, if it be true that the magistrates, partaking of the fears of the Athenian tyrants, engaged Pharnabazus to perpetrate this atrocious murder. But others

[q] Xenoph. Memor. p. 716. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 237. Senec. de Tranquil. Anim. cap. 3.

[r] Plut. in Alcib p. 212 et 213. Nep. ibid. cap. 10.

assert that it originated entirely with himself, and that he was only actuated by private motives.[s]

The glory of saving Athens was reserved to Thrasybulus. That generous citizen, whose merit had placed him at the head of those who had fled from their country, and who had been deaf to all the proposals made him by the tyrants to partake of their power, gained possession of the Piræus, and summoned the people to liberty.[t] Some of the tyrants perished in arms; others were condemned to death. A general amnesty reconciled the two parties, and restored tranquillity to Athens.[u]

Some years after, that city shook off the yoke of Lacedæmon, re-established the democracy, and entered into the treaty of peace concluded by the Spartan Antalcidas with Artaxerxes.* By this treaty, which circumstances rendered necessary, the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, and some of the neighbouring islands, were given up to Persia; the other nations of Greece regained their laws and independence,[x] but remained in a state of weakness, from which perhaps they never will recover. Thus were the

[s] Ephor. ap. Diod. lib. 14. p. 242.
[t] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 472.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 479. * The year 387 before Christ.
[x] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 5. p. 549. Isocrates de Pace, t. i. p. 368. Plat. in Agesil. p. 608. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 319.

differences terminated which had occasioned the Median war and that of Peloponnesus.

The historical essay I have here given concludes with the taking of Athens. In the relation of my travels, I shall insert an account of the principal events that have occurred subsequent to that period, and to the time of my return into Scythia: I shall now proceed to hazard a few remarks on the age of Pericles.

At the commencement, of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians must have been greatly surprised to find themselves so different from their ancestors. A few years had sufficed to destroy the authority of all the laws, institutions, maxims, and examples, accumulated by preceding ages for the conservation of manners. Never was there a more dreadful proof, that great successes are as dangerous for the victors as the vanquished.

I have already indicated the fatal effects produced on the Athenians by their conquests, and the flourishing state of their navy and their commerce. We have seen them rapidly extending the dominions of the republic, and transporting into her bosom the spoils of the allied and subjugated nations: hence the successive progress of a ruinous luxury, and the insatiable thirst for festivals and spectacles. As the government abandoned itself to the delirium of a pride that imagined every thing warrantable, because

there was nothing it dared not to attempt, individuals, from its example, shook off every species of constraint enjoined either by nature or society.

Merit soon could only obtain esteem; respect was reserved for power and influence: all the passions were directed towards personal interest, and all the sources of corruption spread themselves with profusion over the state. Love, which heretofore had concealed itself under the veils of Hymen and of Modesty, flamed openly with illegitimate fires. Courtesans multiplied in Attica, and throughout all Greece.[y] Some of these women came from Iönia, from that beautiful climate where the art of voluptuousness took birth. Some attached to their persons a multiplicity of admirers, all of whom they loved without a preference, and who all loved them without rivalry; others, confining themselves to a single, conquest,[z] by an appearance of propriety, succeeded in attracting respect and commendation from that easy public, which imputed to them as a merit this fidelity to their engagements.

Pericles, a witness to the abuse, did not attempt to correct it. The more severe he was in his own manners, the more studious was he to corrupt those of the Athenians, which he re-

[y] Athen. lib. 13. p. 569.
[z] Terent. in Heautontim. act. 2. scen. 3.

laxed by a rapid succession of festivals and games.[a]

The celebrated Aspasia, a native of Miletus in Iönia, seconded the views of Pericles, whose mistress and wife she was successively. She had obtained such an ascendancy over him, that he was accused of having more than once engaged his country in war to avenge her personal quarrels.[b] She had the boldness to form a society of courtesans, whose charms and favours were employed to attach the young Athenians[c] to her interests. A few years before, the whole city would have revolted at the idea of such a project; but now, when carried into execution, it only excited some feeble murmurs: the comic poets freely satirised Aspasia,[d] but this did not hinder her house from being frequented by the best company of Athens.

Pericles authorised this licentiousness; Aspasia extended it; and Alcibiades rendered it amiable. The life of the latter was an example of every species of dissolute manners; but his vices were all mingled with so many splendid qualities, and so often accompanied with noble actions, that public censure knew not on what to fasten.[e] Besides, how was it possible to re-

[a] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 158.
[b] Aristoph. in Acarn. act. 2. scen. 5. v. 527. Plut. in Pericl. p. 165 et 168.
[c] Plut. ibid. p. 165.
[d] Cratin. *Eupol.* ap. Plut. ibid.
[e] Plut. in Alcib. p. 199.

sist the charm of a poison which the Graces themselves seemed to distribute? or to condemn a man who possessed every requisite to please, or to seduce; who was the first to condemn himself; who repaired the slightest offences by such conciliating attentions; and who seemed less to commit faults than to fall into them through negligence? The public were therefore led to rank them among those amusements, or those errors, which disappear with the fire of youth:[f] and as indulgence for vice is always a conspiracy against virtue, it happened that, excepting a small number of citizens inflexibly attached to ancient maxims,[g] the nation, hurried away by the graces of Alcibiades, became the accomplices of his excesses, and concluded by defending what they had begun by excusing.

The young Athenians fixed their eyes on this dangerous model; and, unable to imitate its beauties, thought to approach it by copying, and especially by overcharging, its defects. They became frivolous because he was giddy, insolent because he was bold, regardless of the laws because he paid no respect to propriety of manners. Some not so wealthy, but equally prodigal with himself, displayed a luxury that rendered them ridiculous,[h] and drew down ruin on their families: the disorders they transmitted

[f] Plut. in Alcib. p. 199.
[g] Id. ibid. p. 198.
[h] Aristoph. in Nub. scen. 1.

to their descendants, and the baneful influence of the example of Alcibiades, subsisted long after his death.

A judicious historian observes,[i] that war modifies the maners of a people, and sours them in proportion to their sufferings. That of Peloponnesus was so long, and the Athenians experienced so many reverses of fortune, as to occasion a remarkable alteration in their character. Their vengeance was not satisfied, unless the punishment exceeded the offence. More than once they issued decrees which condemned to death the inhabitants of the islands who had forsaken their alliance;[k] their generals more than once inflicted dreadful tortures on the prisoners who fell into their hands.[l] They now therefore no longer remembered that ancient institution, by which the Greeks were accustomed to celebrate with songs of joy the victories gained over the barbarians, but to recount with tears and lamentations the advantages they had obtained over the other Greeks.[m]

The author I have quoted further observes, that, in the course of this fatal war, such a general subversion of ideas and principles took place, that the words most in use entirely changed their meaning: good faith was called

[i] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 8. [k] Id. ibid. cap. 36.

[l] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 457. Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 166.

[m] Isocr. Panegyr. t. i. p. 205.

simplicity and credulity; duplicity address; and prudence and moderation feebleness and pusillanimity; while audacity and violence were considered as the sallies of a strong mind, and an ardent zeal in the common cause.[n] Such a confusion in language is perhaps one of the most dreadful symptoms of the depravity of a people. In other times attacks are made on virtue; yet to assign limits to her is still to acknowledge her authority: but when a society proceeds to divest her even of her name, her claims are at an end; vice usurps the sceptre, and maintains herself undisturbed on the throne.

Those bloody wars in which the Greeks had been engaged extinguished a great number of families accustomed, for many ages, to consider their own glory as inseparable from the glory of their country.[o] The foreigners and new men who supplied their places made the balance of power suddenly incline in favour of the multitude.[p] The following example will show to what excess they now ventured to carry their insolence. Towards the end of the Peloponnesian war, a player on the lyre, formerly a slave, afterwards admitted a citizen through his intrigues, and adored by the multitude for his liberality, was seen to come into the general assembly armed with an axe, and threaten with

[n] Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 82.
[o] Isocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 404.
[p] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 389.

impunity to cleave the skull of the first man who should give his vote for peace.[q] A few years after Athens was taken by the Lacedæmonians, and in a short time again sunk under the arms of the king of Macedon.

Such was the destiny of a state founded on morals. Philosophers, who ascend to the causes of great events, have said that every age bears, in some manner, within itself, the age that is to follow. This bold metaphor contains an important truth, confirmed by the history of Athens. The age of laws and virtue prepared that of valour and of glory; the latter produced that of conquests and of luxury, which terminated in the destruction of the republic.

Let us now turn our eyes from these afflicting scenes, and fix them on more agreeable and more interesting objects. Towards the end of the Peloponnesian war Nature redoubled her efforts, and on a sudden gave birth to a number of men of genius in every branch of knowledge. Of these Athens produced several, and saw a still greater number resort to her, to court the honour of her approbation and esteem.

Without mentioning a Gorgias, a Parmenides, a Protagoras, and many other eloquent sophists, who by disseminating their doubts multiplied

[q] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 407.

ideas, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, shone on the stage, surrounded by rivals who shared in their glory. The astronomer Meton calculated the motions of the heavens, and fixed the limits of the year; the orators Antiphon, Andocides, and Lysias, distinguished themselves in the different kinds of eloquence; Thucydides, excited to emulation by the applauses bestowed on Herodotus, while he read his History to the Athenians, was labouring to merit a similar reward; Socrates transmited a sublime doctrine to his disciples, several of whom have founded schools; able generals ensured victory to the arms of the republic; the most magnificent edifices were erected after the designs of the most able architects; the pencils of Polygnotus, Parrhasius, and Zeuxis, and the chisels of Phidias and Alcamenes, were exerted with emulation to decorate the temples, the porticoes, and public places. All these great men, as also all those who flourished in other parts of Greece, were reproduced in pupils worthy to succeed them; and it was easy to foresee that the most corrupt would soon become the most enlightened of ages.

Thus, whilst the respective states of this country were menaced with losing the empire both of the sea and land, a peaceful class of citizens were labouring to secure to it for ever the empire of the mind: they erected in honour

of their nation a temple, the foundations of which had been laid in the preceding age, and was to resist the ravages of ages to come. The sciences every day acquired strength by new discoveries, and the arts by their continued progress. Poetry did not increase her splendour; but retaining it, employed her powers to embellish tragedy and comedy, which were at once carried to their highest perfection. History, subjected to the laws of true criticism, rejected the marvellous, discussed facts,[r] and became an instructive lesson, which past times transmitted to succeeding ages. In proportion as the edifice arose, barren wastes were discovered at a distance, and others which waited only for more skilful cultivation. The rules of logic and of rhetoric, the abstractions of metaphysics, and the maxims of morality, were explained in works which to regularity of plan united precision of ideas and elegance of style.

Greece partly owed these advantages to the influence of philosophy, which arose out of obscurity after the victories gained over the Persians. Zeno appeared, and the Athenians exercised themselves in the subtleties of the Elean school. Anaxagoras brought them acquainted with the knowledge and discoveries of Thales; and some of them were persuaded that eclipses,

[r] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 20 et 21.

monsters, and the diversified sports of nature, should no longer be enumerated in the list of prodigies; but this they were obliged to communicate in confidence;[s] for the people, accustomed to consider certain phenomena as warnings from heaven, were exasperated against those philosophers who wished to reclaim them from this superstition. Persecuted and banished, they learned that the truth, to gain admission amongst men, must not present herself unveiled, but be clandestinely introduced in the train of error.

The arts, finding no popular prejudices to combat, met not with similar restraints. The temple of Jupiter, begun under Pisistratus; and that of Theseus, constructed under Cimon; furnished the architect with models: but the pictures and statues then subsisting presented the painter and the sculptor only with essays, which their genius must mature into perfection.

Some years before the Peloponnesian war, Panænus, the brother of Phidias, painted the battle of Marathon in one of the porticos of Athens; and the surprise of the spectators was extreme, when they perceived they could discover in these pictures the chiefs of the two armies.[t] He surpassed those who had preceded

[s] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 154. Id. in Nic. p. 538.
[t] Plin. lib 35. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 690. Pausan. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 402.

him, and almost at the very instant was surpassed by Polygnotus of Thasos, Apollodorus of Athens, Zeuxis of Heraclea, and Parrhasius of Ephesus. Polygnotus was the first who varied the expressions of the countenance, and deviated from the dry and servile manner of his predecessors;[u] he was likewise the first who embellished his female figures, and clothed them with light and elegant drapery. His portraits bear the impression of moral beauty, the idea of which was deeply engraven in his soul.[x] He should not be censured for not sufficiently diversifying his colours:[y] it was the fault of the art, which, if we may use the expression, was then but newly born.

Apollodorus, in this branch of his art, possessed the resources in which Polygnotus was deficient: he produced a happy mixture of light and shade. Zeuxis immediately improved on this discovery; and Apollodorus, desirous of authenticating his glory, exalted that of his rival. In a poem written by him, he says: "I had discovered, for the distribution of shades, secrets unknown until our days; they have

[u] Plin. ibid. cap. 9. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxv. p. 194 et 271.

[x] Arist. de Rep. lib. 8. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 455. Id. de Poet. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 653.

[y] Quintil. lib. 12. cap. 10. p. 743.

been wrested from me: the art is in the hands of Zeuxis."[z]

The latter studied nature[a] with the same attention that he bestowed on finishing his productions;[b] these are resplendent with beauties. In his picture of Penelope he seems to have painted the manners and character of that princess;[c] but in general he has been less successful in this particular than Polygnotus.[d]

Zeuxis accelerated the progress of the art by the beauty of his colouring; Parrhasius his rival, by the purity and correctness of design,[e] for he was acquainted with the science of proportions. Those which he gave his gods and heroes appeared so happy, that artists did not hesitate to adopt them, and decreed him the name of legislator.[f] He had other titles to their admiration. He showed them, for the first time, expressive heads, mouths embellished by the graces, and hair pourtrayed with delicacy.[g]

[z] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 346. Plin. lib. 35. cap. 9. p. 691. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. xxv. p. 195.

[a] Cicer. de Invent. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. i. p. 75. Dionys. Halicar. Vet. Script. Cens. cap. 1. t. v. p. 417. Plin. ibid.

[b] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 159.

[c] Plin. ibid.

[d] Aristot. de Poet. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 657.

[e] Quintil. lib. 12. cap. 10. p. 744. Plin. lib. 35. cap. 9. p. 691.

[f] Quintil. ibid.

[g] Plin. ibid. Mem. de l'Acad. t. xix. p. 266; t. xxv. p. 168.

To these two artists succeeded Timanthes, whose works, giving us to understand more than they express, discover the great artist, and still more the man of wit;[h] Pamphilus, who acquired such a degree of authority by his merit, as to procure schools for drawing, from which slaves were excluded, to be established in several of the Grecian cities;[i] Euphranor, who, ever equal to himself, excelled in all the branches of painting.[k] I have known some of these artists, and have since learned, that a pupil whom I have seen with Pamphilus, named Apelles, has surpassed them all.

The progress and improvement of sculpture was not inferior to that of painting. To prove this, it is only necessary to repeat the names of Phidias, Polycletus, Alcamenes, Scopas, and Praxiteles. The first lived in the time of Pericles. I was acquainted with the latter. Thus, in less than the space of a single century, has this art attained such a degree of excellence, that the ancient sculptors would at this day be obliged to blush for their productions and their celebrity.[l]

If to these different generations of talents we add those which preceded them, ascending from

[h] Plin. ibid. p. 694.
[i] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 9. p. 694.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 703.
[l] Plat. in Hipp. Maj. t. iii. p. 282.

Pericles to the time of Thales, the most ancient of the Grecian philosophers, we shall find that the human mind has acquired more in the interval of about two hundred years, than in the long succession of preceding ages. What powerful hand was it that suddenly impressed on it, and still preserves, even to our days, a motion at once so rapid and so productive?

I imagine that from time to time, perhaps even in every generation, Nature scatters over the earth a certain portion of talents, which remain buried when nothing contributes to develope them, and awaken as from a profound sleep when one among them accidentally opens a new path to fame. Those who rush into it first, divide among them, if I may so speak, the provinces of this new empire: these their successors have the merit of cultivating and giving law to. But there are limits to the discoveries of the mind, as there are to the enterprises of conquerors and navigators. The greatest discoveries immortalize those who have made, and those who have improved them; till at length men of genius, no longer possessing the same resources, cease to meet with the same success, and are almost reduced to a level with the class of ordinary men.

To this general cause several partial ones must be added. At the commencement of the great revolution of which I speak, the philosopher

Pherecydes of Scyros, and the historians Cadmus and Hecatæus of Miletus, introduced into their writings the use of prose,[m] better calculated than poetry for the communication of ideas. Towards the same period Thales, Pythagoras, and other Greeks, brought from Egypt and the countries of the East, various kinds of science, which they taught to their disciples. Whilst these were silently taking root in the schools instituted in Sicily, Italy; and on the coasts of Asia, every thing conspired to the birth and rapid improvement of the arts.

Such as depend on the imagination, are more especially destined among the Greeks to the embellishment of their festivals and temples; they are employed likewise to celebrate the heroic acts of nations, and the names of the victors in the solemn games of Greece. Dispensers of the glory they partake, the Greeks found, after the Persian war, more occasions than formerly to exercise these sublime arts.

Greece, after enjoying for some time a prosperity that increased her power,[n] fell into a state of dissension which gave a surprising degree of activity to every mind. She beheld wars and victories, riches and luxury, artists and monuments, multiply at once within her bosom: the

[m] Plin. lib. 5. cap. 29. t. i. p. 278; lib. 7. p. 417. Strab. lib. 1, p. 18. Suid. in Pherecyd.

[n] Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 72.

festivals became more splendid, public spectacles more common; the temples were covered with paintings, and the environs of Delphi and Olympia with statues. On the smallest success, piety, or rather national vanity, paid a tribute to industry, excited likewise by an institution which turned to the advantage of the arts. Was a public square or edifice to be decorated; several artists treated the same subject: they exhibited their performances or their plans, and the preference was given to him who united the greatest number of public suffrages in his favour.[o] More solemn competitions were instituted in favour of painting and music, at Delphi, Corinth, Athens, and other places. The Grecian cities which had known only the rivalry of arms, now became acquainted with that of talents: the greater part of them assumed a new appearance, after the example of Athens, which surpassed them all in magnificence.

Pericles, wishing to give employment to a people[p] formidable to their chiefs in the inactivity of peace, resolved to dedicate to the embellishment of the city, a great part of the contributions furnished by the allies to support the Persian war, and which had been hitherto kept in reserve in the citadel. He represented that, by throwing this wealth into circulation, it

[o] Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 725.
[p] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 158.

would procure to the nation an abundance for the present moment, and immortal glory in futurity.[q] The shops of artists and the public places were instantly filled with an infinite number of labourers and mechanics, whose exertions were directed by intelligent masters, after the designs of Phidias. These works, which a great empire would scarcely have ventured to undertake, and which seemed to require a long space of time for their execution, were completed by a little republic, in a very few years, under the administration of a single man, without either suffering in their elegance or solidity by such astonishing diligence. They cost about three thousand talents.[r]*

While these works were carrying on, Pericles was reproached by his enemies with dissipating the money of the state. "Are you of opinion," said he one day to the general assembly, "that the expence is too great?" "Far too great," answered some person. "Well then," replied he, "I will take it entirely on myself, and inscribe my name on these edifices." "No, no," exclaimed the people, "let them be erected at the expence of the treasury; and spare nothing for their completion."[s]

A taste for the arts began to introduce itself

[q] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 159.
[r] Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.
* See note VIII. at the end of the volume.
[s] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 160.

among a small number of citizens; that for paintings and statues among the rich. The dazzled multitude judge of the power of a state by its magnificence; hence that respect for artists who distinguished themselves by a happy boldness. Some laboured gratuitously for the republic, and had honours decreed them;[t] others there were who enriched themselves either by teaching pupils,[u] or exacting a tribute from those who came to their workshops to admire their masterly productions.[x] Several of them, elated with the general approbation, found a still more flattering recompense in the consciousness of their superiority, and in the homage they themselves rendered to their abilities; nor did they blush to inscribe on their pictures, "It will be easier to criticise than to imitate."[y] Zeuxis acquired such great wealth, that towards the end of his life he made presents of his paintings, affirming that nobody was rich enough to pay their value.[z] Parrhasius had such an exalted opinion of himself as to lay claim to a divine origin.[a] To the intoxication of their pride was added that of the public admiration.

Though letters were cultivated more early,

[t] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 9. p. 691. Suid. et Harpocr. in Polygn.
[u] Plin. ibid. p. 694.
[x] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 12.
[y] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 9. p. 691. Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 346.
[z] Plin. ibid. [a] Id. ibid. p. 694.

and with greater success than the arts, it may be asserted that, excepting poetry, they received less encouragement from the Greeks. Eloquence and history were held in great estimation, because the former was necessary to the discussion of their interests, and the latter to the gratification of their vanity; but the other branches of literature owe their improvement rather to the vigour of the soil, than to any protection of the government. In several cities we find schools for the athletæ maintained at the public expence; but no where any permanent institutions for the exercises of the mind. It is but lately that the study of arithmetic and geometry has constituted a part of education, and that the doctrines of natural philosophy have ceased to be an object of aversion and alarm. Under Pericles, philosophical researches were rigorously proscribed by the Athenians;[b] and, whilst soothsayers frequently received an honourable public maintenance in the prytaneum,[c] the philosophers scarcely ventured to confide their opinions to their most faithful disciples. Nor were they more favourably received among other nations. Every where objects of hatred or contempt, they escaped from the fury of fanaticism only by holding truth in cap-

[b] Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 169.
[c] Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 338.

tivity, and from the virulence of envy by a voluntary or constrained poverty. Though more tolerated at present, they are still so closely watched, that, on the smallest offence, philosophy would experience a repetition of all the persecution it has formerly suffered.

From these reflections we may conclude, first, that the Greeks have always honoured the talents subservient to their pleasures, more than those which contribute to their instruction; secondly, that natural have had more influence than moral causes in the progress of letters, and moral more than natural in that of the arts; and thirdly, that the Athenians are not justified in arrogating to themselves the origin, or at least the perfecting of the arts and sciences.[d] Falsely do they flatter themselves that they have opened and pointed out to other nations the glorious paths of immortality;[e] Nature does not seem to have distinguished them from the other Greeks in the distribution of her favours. They have indeed invented the drama; they have produced celebrated orators, two or three historians, and a very small number of painters, sculptors, and able architects; but in almost all these branches the rest of Greece may produce a multitude of illustrious names to dispute their claim. I do

[d] Isocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 138.
[e] Athen. Deipnos. lib. 6. cap. 13. p. 250.

not even know whether the climate of Attica be so favourable to the productions of genius as that of Iönia and Sicily.

Athens is not so much the birth-place as the residence of great talents. Her riches enable her to employ them, and her knowledge to appreciate their value: the magnificence of her festivals, the mildness of her laws, the number and complacent character of her inhabitants, might alone attract within her walls men eager to acquire fame, who must have a theatre for their exertions—must have rivals and judges.

Pericles attached such men to him by the superiority of his influence; Aspasia, by the charms of her conversation; and both, by a discerning esteem. Aspasia can be compared only with herself. The Greeks were still less astonished at her beauty than her eloquence, and the solidity and elegance of her understanding. Socrates, Alcibiades, men of letters, the most celebrated artists, and the most amiable of the Athenians of either sex, assembled around this extraordinary woman, who commanded the respect of all, and conversed in all their languages.

This society was the model of those which have been since formed. The love of letters, arts, and pleasures, which connects all men, and confounds distinctions, rendered sensible the merit of a delicacy in language and manners. Such as had received from Nature the gift of

pleasing, exerted every endeavour to please; and this desire embellished talents with new graces. The tone of good company was soon distinguishable. This, as it is partly founded on arbitrary conventions, and supposes a degree of refinement and tranquillity of mind, was long in purifying, and could never find its way into all ranks of society. In a word, that politeness which at first was only the expression of esteem, insensibly degenerated into dissimulation; every one was careful to lavish attentions upon others, that he might receive still greater in return, and to flatter their self-love, that they might not wound his own.

NOTES.

NOTE I. Page 73.

On the Dialects made use of by Homer.

HOMER frequently employs the different dialects of Greece; and this has been imputed to him as a fault. It is, say these critics, as if a French writer were to lay under contribution the dialects of Languedoc, of Picardy, and other local idioms. The reproach is apparently well founded. But how is it possible to imagine that Homer, endowed with the readiest and most fertile genius, should have allowed himself to take liberties, on which the most inconsiderable poets would not venture; and have dared to create, in order to facilitate his versification, a fantastic language, with which not only posterity, but even his own age, however ignorant we may suppose it, must have been disgusted? It is more natural therefore to conclude that he made use of the usual language of his time.

Among the ancient inhabitants of Greece, the same letters signified sounds more or less aspirated, or more or less open; the same words had several terminations, and were variously modified. These

undoubtedly were irregularities, but such as are common enough in the infancy of languages, and such as might well have subsisted for a long time among the Greeks, from the frequency of emigrations. When these tribes of people were completely settled, certain modes of speech became peculiar to certain districts; and it was at this period that language was divided into dialects, which of themselves were susceptible of subdivisions. The frequent variations words have undergone, as we see in the most ancient monuments of our own language, give us reason to presume that the same thing has happened in the language of Greece.

To this general reason we must add another relative to the country in which Homer wrote. The Iönian colony, which, two centuries before the birth of that poet, went to settle on the coasts of Asia Minor under Neleus, the son of Codrus, was in a great measure composed of Iönians from Peloponnesus; but they were joined likewise by a number of the inhabitants of Thebes, Phocis, and some other countries of Greece. (*a*)

It appears to me probable, therefore, that the language used by Homer was formed from a mixture of the respective idioms of these emigrants with those of the Æolians and other Greek colonies bordering on Iönia: but that at length, by the progressive alterations common to all languages, some dialects were circumscribed within certain cities, and assumed more distinct characters, retaining, nevertheless, varieties sufficient to attest the ancient confu-

(*a*) Pausan lib. 7. cap. 3. p. 528.

sion. And in fact Herodotus who wrote four hundred years after Homer, (*b*) admits four subdivisions in the dialect then spoken in Ionia. (*c*)

NOTE II. Page 92.

On Epimenides.

EVERY thing relative to Epimenides is full of obscurity. Some ancient authors make him come to Athens about the year 600 before Christ. Plato is the only one who refers the date of this journey to the year 500 before the same æra. (*d*) This difficulty has perplexed the modern critics. It has been said that the text of Plato was corrupted; but this does not appear to have been the case. It has likewise been said that there were two persons of the name of Epimenides; but this supposition is destitute of probability. In fine, after some ancient authors, who make Epimenides live, 154, 157, nay even 299 years, some have ventured to advance that he came twice to Athens, the first time at the age of forty, and the second at that of one hundred and fifty. (*e*) It is indeed possible that this may be true; but it is still more so that Plato was mistaken. For further satisfaction, the reader may consult Fabricius. (*f*)

(*b*) Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 53.
(*c*) Id. lib. 1. cap. 142.
(*d*) Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 641.
(*e*) Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. iii. p. 72.
(*f*) Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 36. et 502. Brucker. Histor. Crit. Philos. t. i. p. 419.

NOTE III. Page 108.

On the Authority of Fathers at Athens.

When we see Solon depriving fathers of the power of selling their children, as they had formerly done, we can with difficulty believe that he allowed them to put them to death, as several ancient writers, posterior to that legislator, have asserted. (*g*) I should rather be inclined to credit the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who, in his Roman Antiquities, (*h*) observes, that by the laws of Solon, Pittacus, and Charondas, the Greeks only permitted fathers to disinherit their children, or expel them their houses without suffering them to inflict any severer punishments. If the Greeks afterwards gave a greater extent to the paternal power, it is to be presumed that they borrowed the idea from the Roman laws.

(*g*) Sext. Empir. Pyrrhon. Hypot. lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 180. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 1. p. 24. Vid. Meurs. Them. Attic. lib. 1. cap. 2.

(*h*) Dionys. Halic. lib. 2. cap. 26. p. 292.

NOTE IV. Page 132.

On the Song of Harmodius and Aristogiton.

ATHENÆUS (*i*) has given us one of the songs composed in honour of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which M. de la Nauze (*k*) has thus translated:

"I will wear my sword covered with myrtle branches, like Harmodius and Aristogiton, when they slew the tyrant, and established equality of laws in Athens.

"Beloved Harmodius! thou art not dead: they say thou livest in the islands of the blessed, where are the swift-footed Achilles, and Diomed the valiant son of Tideus.

"I will wear my sword covered with myrtle branches, like Harmodius and Aristogiton, when they slew the tyrant Hipparchus at the festival of the Panathenæa.

"May your glory be eternal, beloved Harmodius, beloved Aristogiton! since you have slain the tyrant, and established equality of laws in Athens."

(*i*) Athen. lib. 15. cap. 15. p. 695.
(*k*) Mem. de l'Acade. des Bell. Lettr. § 10. p. 337.

NOTE V. Page 149.

On the Treasures of the Kings of Persia.

We see, by what is said in the text, the reason why Alexander found such vast sums accumulated in the treasuries of Persepolis, Susa, Pasagarda, &c. (*l*) I doubt, notwithstanding, whether we should give credit to Justin, when he says, (*m*) that, after the conquest of Persia, Alexander annually drew three hundred thousand talents from his new subjects, which would make about sixteen hundred and twenty millions of French livres (or sixty-seven millions and a half sterling).

(*l*) Arrian. lib. 3. cap. 16. p. 128. Ib. cap. 18. p. 131. Quint. Curt. lib. 5. cap. 6. Diod. Sic. lib. 17. p. 544. Plut. in Alex. t. i. p. 686.

(*m*) Justin. lib. 13. cap. 1.

NOTE VI. Page 175.

On the Bridges of Boats built over the Hellespont by order of Xerxes.

THESE two bridges began at Abydos and terminated a little below Sestous. It is now known, that this passage, which is the narrowest part of the strait, is only about 375½ toises (or 800 yards) wide. As the length of the bridges is said to have been seven stadia, M. d'Anville has from thence inferred, that these stadia were only 51 toises (108½ yards) each. (*n*)

(*n*) Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxviii, p. 334.

NOTE VII. Page 189.

On the Number of Grecian troops under the Command of Leonidas at Thermopylæ.

I SHALL shall now lay before the reader the estimates of Herodotus, lib. 7. cap. 202; of Pausanias, lib. 10. cap. 20. page 845: and of Diodorus, lib. 11. p. 4.

TROOPS OF PELOPONNESUS.

According to Herodotus.		According to Pausanias.		According to Diodorus.	
Spartans -	300	Spartans -	300	Spartans - -	300
Tegeatæ -	500	Tegeatæ -	500	Lacedæmonans	700
Mantineans	500	Mantineans	500		
Orchomenians	120	Orchomenians	120		
Arcadians	1000	Arcadians	1000		
Corinthians	400	Corinthians	400		
Phliuntians	200	Phliuntians	200	Other States of Peloponnesus	3000
Myceneans	80	Myceneans	80		
Total -	3100	Total -	3100	Total -	4000

OTHER STATES OF GREECE.

Thespians -	700	Thespians -	700	Milesians -	1000
Thebans -	400	Thebans -	400	Thebans - -	400
Phocians -	1000	Phocians -	1000	Phocians -	1000
Opuntian-Locrians		Locrians -	6000	Locrians -	1000
Total -	5200	Total -	11,200	Total -	7400

Thus, according to Herodotus, the cities of Peloponnesus furnished 3100 soldiers, the Thespians 700, the Thebans 400, the Phocians 1000; total 5200, without reckoning the Opuntian-Locrians, who marched in a body.

Pausanias follows, for the other nations, the calculation of Herodotus, and conjectures that the Locrians amounted to 6000; which gives a total of 11,200 men.

According to Diodorus, Leonidas repaired to Thermopylæ at the head of 4000 men, among whom were 300 Spartans, and 700 Lacedæmonians. He adds, that this body was soon reinforced by 1000 Milesians, 400 Thebans, 1000 Locrians, and almost an equal number of Phocians; total 7400 men. On the other hand, Justin (*o*) and other authors say, that Leonidas had but 4000 men.

These doubts would perhaps vanish, if we had all the inscriptions which were engraved after the battle, on five columns erected at Thermopylæ. (*p*) We still have that of the augur Megistias; (*q*) but this throws no light on the subject: the others were consecrated to the soldiers of the different nations. On that of the Spartans, it is said, they were 300; on another, it was inscribed, that 4000 soldiers of Peloponnesus had fought against three millions of Persians. (*r*) That of the Locrians is quoted by Strabo, who does not give us the particulars: (*s*) the number of their soldiers must have been on it. We

(*o*) Justin. lib. 2. cap. 11.
(*p*) Strab. lib. 9. p. 420.
(*q*) Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 228.
(*r*) Id. ibid.
(*s*) Strab. ibid.

have not the last, which was doubtless for the Thespians; for it could not be either for the Phocians, who did not fight, or the Thebans, who had gone over to Xerxes when these monuments were erected.

The following are a few reflections to reconcile the preceding estimates:

1. It is evident that Justin relied solely on the inscription in honour of the nations of Peloponnesus, when he allows only 4000 men to Leonidas.

2. Herodotus does not fix the number of the Locrians. It is only by a slight conjecture that Pausanias makes it amount to 6000. In the first place, Strabo may be opposed to him, who positively says, (*t*) that Leonidas received from the neighbouring nations only a small number of soldiers; and next, Diodorus Siculus, who, in his estimate, allows only 1000 Locrians.

3. In the enumeration of these troops, Diodorus has omitted the Thespians, (*u*) though he makes mention of them in the course of his narration: (*x*) instead of the Thespians, he reckons 1000 Milesians. No people of this name are known on the continent of Greece. Paulmier (*y*) is of opinion, that we should substitute the name of Malians for that of Milesians. These Malians had at first submitted to Xerxes; (*z*) and, as we might be surprised at seeing them united with the Greeks, Paulmier supposes, from a passage of Herodotus, (*a*) that they

(*t*) Strab. lib. 9. p. 429.
(*u*) Diod. lib. 11. p. 5.
(*x*) Id. ibid. p. 8.
(*y*) Palmer. Exercit. p. 106.
(*z*) Diod. lib. 11. p. 3.
(*a*) Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 66.

did not declare openly for the Persians until after the fight at Thermopylæ. Is it, however, to be presumed, that, inhabiting, as they did, an open country, they would have dared to take up arms against a powerful nation, to which they had sworn obedience? It is much more probable, that, in the affair of Thermopylæ, they furnished succours neither to the Greeks nor Persians; but that, after the battle, they sent some ships to join the fleet of the latter. By whatever means this error has crept into the text of Diodorus, I am inclined to think, that instead of 1000 Milesians, we should read 700 Thespians.

4. Diodorus adds 700 Lacedæmonians to the 300 Spartans; and his testimony is clearly confirmed by that of Isocrates. (*b*) Herodotus does not mention them, perhaps from their not beginning their march till after Leonidas. I have, however, thought it right to admit them. Independent of the authorities of Diodorus and Isocrates, we know that the Spartans seldom took the field without being accompanied by a body of Lacedæmonians. It is also certain, that the cities of Peloponnesus furnished 4000 men: this number was clearly expressed in the inscription placed upon their tomb; yet Herodotus reckons only 3100, not thinking it necessary to mention the 700 Lacedæmonians, who, according to all appearance, joined Leonidas at Thermopylæ.

To conclude these remarks—Herodotus carries the number of the combatants to 5200; and if we add, on the one hand, 700 Lacedæmonians, and, on the

(*b*) Isocr. in Paneg. t. i. p. 164; et in Archid. t. ii. p. 62.

other, the Locrians, whose number he has not specified, and who are stated by Diodorus only at 1000, we shall have 6900 men.

Pausanias reckons 11,200 men; and if we add the 700 Lacedæmonians he has omitted, after the example of Herodotus, we shall have 11,900. Let us reduce, with Diodorus, the 6000 Locrians to 1000, and we shall have a total of 6900 men.

The calculation of Diodorus gives us 7400 men. If we change the 1000 Milesians into 700 Thespians, we shall have 7100: on the whole, therefore, we may say, that Leonidas had with him about 7000 men.

It appears by Herodotus, (*c*) that the Spartans, according to custom, were accompanied by Helots. Ancient authors have not comprised them in their estimates; and possibly they did not exceed the number of 300.

When Leonidas learned that the enemy were attempting to turn his army, he sent back the greater part of his troops, retaining only the Spartans, the Thespians, and Thebans, which formed a nominal body of 1400 men: but the greater part had perished in the first attacks; and, if we may credit Diodorus, (*d*) Leonidas had no more than 500 soldiers when he determined to attack the Persian camp.

(*c*) Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 229; et lib. 8. cap. 25.
(*d*) Diod. lib. 11. p. 8, 9.

NOTE VIII. Page 345.

On the Sums expended on the Public Edifices erected by order of Pericles.

THUCYDIDES (*e*) gives us to understand, that they amounted to 3700 talents; in which calculation he comprises not only the expence of the Propylæa, and other edifices built by order of Pericles, but that of the siege of Potidæa. This siege, says he elsewhere, (*f*) cost 2000 talents; there would therefore only remain 1700 for the works undertaken by the direction of Pericles. But an ancient author (*g*) reports that the Propylæa alone cost 2012 talents.

To resolve this difficulty, let us observe, that Thucydides has only given us the state of the Athenian finances for the precise time when the Peloponnesian war was determined on; that the siege of Potidæa was then scarcely begun; that it lasted two years; and that the historian, in the former passage, spoke only of the first expences of the siege. Supposing that they then amounted to 700 talents, we will appropriate the remaining 3000 to the buildings with which Pericles embellished the city. 3000 talents, at 5400 livres each talent, make

(*e*) Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 13.
(*f*) Id. ibid. cap. 70.
(*g*) Heliod. ap. Harpocr. et Suid. προπυλ.

16,200,000 livres (or 675,000*l.* sterling); but as, in the time of Pericles, the talent might be worth 300 livres more, we shall have 17,100,000 livres, or 712,500*l.* sterling.

END OF VOL. I.

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